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THE

SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY OF THE WORLD Connected,

FROM THE

CREATION OF THE WORLD

TO THE

DISSOLUTION OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE,

At the Death of Sardanapalus;

AND TO THE

DECLENSION OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL,

UNDER THE REIGNS OF AHAZ AND PEKAH.

INCLUDING

THE DISSERTATION ON

THE CREATION AND FALL OF MAN.

BY

SAMUEL SHUCKFORD, D.D.

Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty, George the Second.

IN FOUR VOLUMES—VOL. I.

Fourth Edition,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND GREATLY IMPROVED,

BY JAMES CREIGHTON, B.A.

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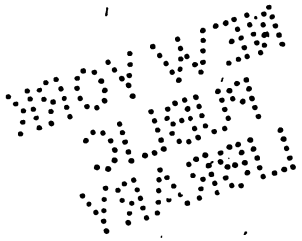
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An Edition of the following work was nearly completed in last August, the whole being printed off (a few sheets excepted) when every copy, with many other valuable publications, was consumed by a fire in Mr. Henry's printing-office. My much-respected friend, Dr. Adam Clarke, was then engaged as editor of the work, to which he had made many corrections, added some notes, and given the ancient alphabets, with important inscriptions, in a more lucid manner than had been done in former editions. But his time being wholly occupied with many imperious calls, he was obliged to decline the re-editing of the present work, and requested me to undertake it. With what fidelity it has been executed, must be left to the judgment of the candid and learned reader. On looking into the original copy, I saw it absolutely necessary to alter Dr. Shuckford's mode of punctuation, to expunge many redundant words, and also to transpose others in innumerable instances; in order to render the sentences more perspicuous, more intelligible, and more harmonious to a modern ear. Every intelligent

reader well knows that very great improvements may be made in these respects, in constructing sentences, even where the sentiments and ideas of an author are faithfully retained. Dr. SHUCKFORD had frequently a whole octavo page, and sometimes more, in *one period*; and the subdivisions of this were marked only with commas! These are now divided into three or four distinct sentences; and yet the author's sentiments are not at all altered. He had also (like many other writers of the two last centuries, and even some respectable authors of the present day) detached the prepositions *of, to, from, by, with,* from the pronoun which they govern, and placed them at the end of the sentence. This inelegance, as well as defect in harmony, is here generally avoided; which will facilitate the labour of future editors; and it is hoped, that, upon the whole, many considerable improvements have been made. The notes of Dr. CLARKE, and also those additions and improvements which he had made in that edition which was burned, as far as they could be recovered, are inserted in this.

JAMES CREIGHTON.

London, May 20, 1808.

THE PREFACE.

THE design of this undertaking is to set before the reader, a view of the HISTORY OF THE WORLD, from Adam to the dissolution of the Assyrian empire, at the death of Sardanapulus, in the reigns of Ahaz, king of Judah, and Pekah, king of Israel. At this period, the most learned Dean Prideaux began his Connection of the Old and New Testaments, and I would bring my performance down to the times where his work begins; hoping, that if I can set the transactions of these ages in a clear light, my endeavours may be of some service towards forming a judgment of the truth and exactness, of the ancient Scripture history, by shewing how far the old fragments of the heathen writers agree with it,

and how much better and more authentic the account is, which it gives of things, where they differ from it. What is now published, is but a small part of my design; but if this meets with that acceptance, which I hope it may, the remaining parts shall soon follow.

Chronology and geography being necessary helps to history, I have taken care to be as exact as I can in both; and that I might give the reader the clearest view of the geography, I have, here and there, added a map, where I differ in any particulars from other writers, or have mentioned any thing, not so clearly delineated in the draughts already extant. As to the chronology, I have observed, as I go along, the several years in which the particulars I treat of, happened; and where any doubts or difficulties may arise, I have endeavoured to clear them, by giving my reasons for the particular times of the transactions, of which I have treated.

In the annals, as I go along, I have chosen to make use of that æra of the creation of

the world, which seemed to me most easy and natural. The transactions of which I am to treat, are brought down from the beginning; and it will be often very clear at what interval or distance they follow one another, and how long after the creation; whereas, if I had used the same æra with Dr. Prideaux, and computed by the years before CHRIST, it would have been necessary to have ascertained the reader, in what year of the world the incarnation of CHRIST happened, before he could have had a fixed and determinate notion of my chronology. However, when I have gone through the whole, I shall add such chronological tables as may adjust the several years of the creation, both to the Julian period and the Christian æra.

It is something difficult to say, of what length the year was, which was in use in the early ages. Before the Flood, it is most probable, that the civil and solar year were the same, and that three hundred and sixty days were the exact measure of both. In that space of time the sun made one entire

revolution; and it was easy and natural for the first astronomers to divide the circle of the sun's annual course into three hundred and sixty parts, long before geometry arrived at perfection enough to afford a reason for chusing to divide circles into that number of degrees. All the time of the antidiluvian world, chronology was fixed and easy; for a year could be more exactly measured than it now can.

At the Flood, the heavens underwent some change: the motion of the sun was altered, and a year, or annual revolution of it, became, as it now is, five days and almost six hours longer than it was before. That such a change had been made,[a] most of the philosophers observed, and, without doubt, as soon as they did observe it, they endeavoured to set right their chronology by it: for it is evident, that as soon as the solar

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[a] See Plutarch de placit. Philos. l. 2. c. 8, l. 3, c. 12, l. 5. c. 18. and Plato Polit. p. 171, 175, 269, 270, 271; and Laertius in vit. Anaxagor. lib. 9, seg. 33.

year became thus augmented, the ancient measure of a year would not do, but mistakes must creep in, and grow more and more every year they continued to compute by it.

The first correction of the year, which we read of, was made in Egypt;[b] and Syncellus[c] names the person who made it, viz. Assis, a king of Thebes, who reigned about a thousand years after the Flood. He added five days to the ancient year, and inserted them at the end of the twelfth month. And though this did not bring the civil year up to an exact measure with the solar; yet it was a great emendation, and put chronology in a state in which it continued for some ages. The Egyptian year thus settled by Assis, consisted of months and days, as follow:

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[b] Herodot. lib. 2. [c] Syncell. p. 123.

Months.	Containing Days.	Beginning about.
1 *Tyoth*	30	*August* - - - - 29
2 *Paophi*	30	*September* - - 28
3 *Athyr*	30	*October* - - - 28
4 *Choiac*	30	*November* - - 27
5 *Tubi*	30	*December* - - 27
6 *Mecheir*	30	*January* - - - 26
7 *Phamenoth*	30	*February* - - 25
8 *Pharmuthi*	30	*March* - - - - 27
9 *Pachon*	30	*April* - - - - 26
10 *Pauni*	30	*May* - - - - - 26
11 *Epiphi*	30	*June* - - - - - 25
12 *Mesori*	30	*July* - - - - - 25

Ἐπαγομεναι, or additional five days, begin August 24, and so end August 28, that the first of Tyoth next year may be August 29, as above.

The Babylonians are thought to have corrected their year next to the Egyptians; they computed but three hundred and sixty days to a year, until the death of Sardanapulus, about one thousand six hundred years after the Flood. At his death Belesis began his reign, and Belesis being the same person with Nabonassar, from the beginning of his reign commenced the famous astronomical æra called by his name. The Nabonassarean year agrees exactly with the

Egyptian year before-mentioned. The months differ only in name; they are the same in number, and of equal lengths; but this year does not begin in autumn, as the Egyptian does, but from the end of our February, which was the time when Nabonassar began his reign.

The ancient year of the Medes, is the same with the Nabonassarean: it begins about the same time, has the same number of months and days, and Epagomena, or additional days at its end; and was probably brought into use by Arbaces, who was confederate with Nabonassar against Sardanapalus; and who by agreement with him founded the empire of the Medes, at the same time when the king set up himself king at Babylon. Dr. Hyde[d] agrees to this origin of the Medes' year, and supposes that it was instituted about the time of founding the empire of the Medes. He very justly corrects Golius, and accounts for the Median year's beginning in the

[d] Rel. vet. Pers. c. 14.

spring; by supposing it derived from the Assyrian, though in one point I think he mistakes. He imagines that all the ancient years began about this time, and that the Syrians, Chaldeans, and Sabæans, who began their year at autumn, had deviated from their first usages; whereas the contrary is true; for all the ancient nations began their year from the autumn. Nabonassar made the first alteration at Babylon; and his year being received at the setting up the Median empire, the Medes began their year agreeably to it. Dr. Hyde supposes the ancient Persian year to be the same with the Median; but Dean Prideaux was of opinion that the Persian year consisted only of three hundred and sixty days, in the reign of Darius.[e]

Thales[f] was the first who corrected the Greek year. He flourished something more than fifty years after Nabonassar. He learned in Egypt that the year consisted of

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[e] Connect. vol. i. Ann. ante Christum 509.

[f] Diogenes Laert. in vit. Thaletis.

three hundred and sixty-five days, and endeavoured to settle the Grecian chronology to a year of that measure. Strabo[g] supposes that Plato and Eudoxus were the correctors of the Greek year; but he means, that they were the first of the Grecians who found out the deficiency of almost six hours in the year of Thales; for he does not say, that Plato and Euxodus were the first that introduced three hundred and sixty-five days for a year, but speaks expressly of their first learning the defect before-mentioned. The year had been settled to consist of three hundred and sixty-five days almost two centuries before the times of Eudoxus or Plato. The correction of Thales was not immediately received all over Greece; for Solon, in the time of Crœsus, king of Lydia, was ignorant of it.[h]

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[g] Strabo, lib. 17, p. 806.

[h] Herod. lib. 1, sec. 32. Solon seems to hint, that a month of thirty days should be intercalated every other year: but this is supposing the year to contain three hundred and seventy-five days. Either Solon

The most ancient year of the Romans was formed by Romulus. Whence, or how he came by the form of it, is uncertain; it consisted of but ten months,[i] very irregular ones,[k] some of them being not twenty days long, and others above thirty-five; but in this respect it agreed with the most ancient years of other nations, for it consisted[l] of three hundred and sixty days, and no more, as is evident from the express testimony of Plutarch.

The *Jewish year*, in these early times, consisted of twelve months, and each month of thirty days; and three hundred and sixty days were the whole year. We do not find that God, by any special appointment cor-

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was not acquainted with Thales's measure of a year, or Herodotus made a mistake in his relation, or the Greeks were about this time trying to fix the true measure of the year, and Solon determined in one way, and Thales in another.

[i] Thus Ovid. Fast. lib. 1.

Tempora digereret cum Conditor Urbis, in Anno
Constituit Menses quinque bis esse suo.

[k] Plutarch. vitar. p. 71. [l] Id. ibid.

rected the year for them; for what may seem to have been done of this sort,[m] at the institution of the Passover, does not appear to affect the length of their year at all, for in that respect it continued the same after that appointment, which it was before. And we do not any where read that Moses ever made a correction of it. The adding *five days* to the year under Assis, before-mentioned, happened after the children of Israel came out of Egypt; so that Moses might be learned in all the learning of the Egyptians, and yet not instructed in this point, which was a discovery made after his leaving them. A year consisted of twelve months in the times of David and Solomon, as appears by the course of houshold-officers[n] appointed by the one, and of captains[o] by the other; and we no where in the books of the Old Testament find any mention of an intercalary month; and Scaliger is positive, that there was no such month used in the

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[m] Exodus xii.
[n] 1 Kings iv. 5.
[o] 1 Chron. xxvii.

times of Moses, or of the Judges, or of the Kings.[q] And that each month had thirty days, and no more, is evident from Moses's computation of the duration of the Flood. The Flood began, he tells us,[s] on the seventeenth day of the second month; prevailed without any sensible abatement for one hundred and fifty days,[r] and then the ark lodged on mount Ararat, on[s] the seventeenth day of the seventh month. So that we see, from the seventeenth of the second month, to the seventeenth of the seventh month, (i. e. for five whole months) he allows one hundred and fifty days, which is just thirty days to each month, for five times thirty days are a hundred and fifty. This, therefore, was the ancient Jewish year; and I imagine this year was in use amongst them, without emendation, at least to a much later period than that to which I am to bring down this work.

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[p] Lib. de Emend. Temp. in capite de Anno piscorum Hebræorum Abrahameo.

[q] Gen. vii. 11. [r] Ver. 24.

[s] Chap. viii. ver. 3, 4.

Dean Prideaux[1] treats pretty largely of the ancient Jewish year, from Selden, and from the Talmud and Maimonides; but the year he speaks of seems not to have been used until after the captivity.[2]

From what has been said, it must be evident that the chronologers do, in general, mistake in supposing the ancient year commensurate with the present Julian. The 1656 years, which preceded the Flood, came short of so many Julian years, by above twenty-three years. And in like manner after the Flood, all nations, till the æra of Nabonassar, which begins exactly where my history is to end, computing by a year of three hundred and sixty days, except the Egyptians only (and they altered the old computation but a century or two before) and the difference between this ancient year and the Julian, being five days in each year, besides the day in every leap-year; it is very clear, that the space of time between the Flood, and the

[1] Preface to the first volume of his Connection.

[2] See Scaliger in loc. supr. citat.

death of Sardanapalus, supposed to contain about one thousand six hundred ancient years, will fall short of so many Julian years by five days and about a fourth-part of a day in every year; which amounts to one or two and twenty years in the whole time: but I would only hint this here; the uses that may be made of it shall be observed in their proper places. There are many chronological difficulties which the reader will meet with, of another nature; but as I have endeavoured to adjust them in the places where they occur, it would be needless to repeat here what will be found at large in the ensuing pages.

I shall, very probably, be thought to have taken great liberty in the accounts I have given of the most ancient profane history; particularly in that which is Antidiluvian, and which I have reduced to an agreement with the history of Moses. It will be said, "take it all together, as it lies in the authors from whom we have it, that it has no such harmony with the sacred writer; and to make a harmony by taking part of what is represented, and such part only as you please,

every thing, or any thing, may be made to agree in this manner; but such an agreement will not be much regarded by the unbiassed." To this I answer: the heathen accounts which we have of these early ages, were taken from the records of either Thyoth the Egyptian, or Sanchoniathon of Berytus; and whatever the original memoirs of these men were, we are sure their accounts were, some time after their decease, corrupted with fable and mystical philosophy. Philo of Biblos in one place* seems to think, that Taautus himself wrote his Sacra, and his theology, in a way above the understanding of the common people; in order to create reverence and respect to the subject of which he treated, and that Surmubelus and Theuro, some ages after, endeavoured to explain his works, by stripping them of the allegory, and giving their true meaning. But I cannot think a writer so ancient as Athothes wrote in fable or allegory; the first memoirs or histories were without doubt short and plain, and

* See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1, c. 10.

men afterwards embellished them with false learning, and in time endeavoured to correct that, and arrive at the true. All therefore that I can collect from this passage of Philo Biblius, is this, that Thyoth's memoirs did not continue such as he left them. Surmubelus and Theuro in some time altered them, and I fear, whoever they were, they altered them for the worse; for *such* were the alterations which succeeding generations made in the records of their ancestors, as appears from what the same writer further offers.[y] "When Saturnus," says he, (now I think Saturnus to be only another name for Mizraim) "went to the South," (i. e. when he removed from the Lower Egypt, into Thebais, which I have taken notice of in its place) "he made Taautus king of all Egypt, and the Cabiri" (who were the sons of Mizraim) "made memoirs of these transactions." Such were the first writings of mankind; short hints or records of what they did, and where they settled: "but the son of Thabio,

[y] See Euseb. ibid.

one of the first interpreters of the Sacra of the Phœnicians, by his comments and interpretations filled these records full of allegory, and mixed his physiological philosophy with them, and so left them to the priests, and they to their successors. With these additions and mixtures they came into the hands of the Greeks, who were men of an abounding fancy, and who, by new applications, and by increasing the number and the extravagancy of the fable, did in time leave but little appearance of any thing like truth in them." We have much the same account of the writings of Sanchoniathon. "Sanchoniathon of Berytus, we are told,[a] wrote his history of the Jewish antiquities with the greatest care and fidelity, having received his facts from Hierombalus, a priest; and having a mind to write a universal history of all nations from the beginning, he took the greatest pains in searching the records of Taautus. But some later writers (probably the persons before-mentioned) had corrupted his

[a] See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.

remains by their allegorical interpretations, and physical additions; for, (says Philo) the more modern ιερολογοι, priests, or explainers of the Sacra, had omitted to relate the true factsas they were recorded, instead of which, they had obscured them by* invented accounts and mysterious fictions, drawn from their notions of the nature of the universe; so that it was not easy for one to distinguish

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* We have an instance in Plutarch, lib. de Iside, p. 355, of the manner in which the ancient records were obscured by fable. The ancient Egyptians had recorded the alteration of the year which I have mentioned, and perhaps observed, that it was caused by the sun's annual course becoming five days longer than it was before, and that the moon's course was proportionably shortened. The mythologic priests turned this account into the following fable: "Rhea," they say, "having privately lain with Saturn, begged of the Sun that she might bring forth in no month nor year. Mercury hereupon was set to play at dice with the Moon, and won from her the seventy-second part of each day; which being given to the Sun, made the five additional days, over and above the settled months of the year, in one of which Rhea was brought to bed." Five days are the seventy-second part of three hundred and sixty days, which was the length of the ancient year.

the real facts which Taautus had recorded, from the fictions super-added to them. But he, (i. e. Sanchoniathon) finding some of the books of the Ammonei, which were kept in the libraries or registries of the temples, examined every thing with the greatest care; and rejecting the allegories and fables which at first sight offered themselves, he at length brought his work to perfection. But the priests who lived after him, adding their comments and explications to his work, in some time brought all back to mythology again." This, I think, is a just account of what has been the fate of the ancient heathen remains; they were clear and true, when left by their authors, but after-writers corrupted them by the addition of fable and false philosophy. Therefore, whoever would endeavour to give a probable account of things from the remains of Thyoth, or Sanchoniathon, must set aside what he finds to be allegory and fable, as the surest way to come at the true remains of these ancient authors. This I have endeavoured to do in my accounts of the Phœnician and Egyptian

antiquities. I have added nothing to their history, and if their ancient remains be carefully examined, the nature of what I have omitted will justify my omitting it; and what I have taken from them, will, I believe, satisfy the judicious reader, that ancient authors before their writings were corrupted, left accoun very agreeable to that of Moses.

Some persons think that the remains we have of Sanchoniathon, and the extracts from Taautus, are mere figments; and that very probably there never were either such men or such writers. But to this I answer with Bishop Stillingfleet.[b] Had it been so, the antagonists of Porphyry, Methodius, Apollinaris, but especially Eusebius, who was so well versed in antiquities, would have found out so great a cheat; for however they have been accused of admitting pious frauds, yet they were such as made for them, and not against them; as the works of these writers were thought to do, when the enemies of Christianity produced them. And I dare say, that if

[b] Origines Sacræ. p. 1. c. 2.

the fragments of these ancients did indeed contradict the Sacred history, instead of what they may, I think, when fairly interpreted, be proved to do, namely agree with it, and to be thereby an additional argument of its uncorrupted truth and antiquity; our modern enemies of revealed religion would think it a partiality not to allow them as much authority as our Bible.

As the works of Taautus and Sanchoniathon were corrupted, by the fables of authors who wrote after them; so probably the Chaldean records suffered alterations from the fancies of those who in after ages copied them; and from hence the reigns (or lives) of Berosus's Antidiluvian Kings (or rather men) came to be extended to so incredible a length. The lives of men, in these times, were extraordinary, as Moses hath represented them; but the profane historians, fond of the marvellous, have far exceeded the truth in their relations. Berosus computes their lives by a term of years called *sarus*; each sarus, he says, is six hundred and three years, and he thinks that some of them lived 10, 12, 13, and 18 sari, i. e.

six thousand and thirty, seven thousand two hundred and thirty-six, seven thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, and ten thousand eight hundred and fifty-four years; but mistakes of this sort have happened with writers of a much later date. Diodorus, and other writers, represent the armies of Semiramis, and her buildings at Babylon, more numerous and magnificent than can be conceived by any one who considers the infant state kingdoms were in when she reigned. Abraham, with a family of between three and four hundred persons, made the figure of a mighty prince in these early times, for the earth was not full of people: and if we come down to the times of the Trojan war, we do not find reason to imagine, that those countries of which the heathen writers treated, were more potent or populous than their contemporaries, of whom we have accounts in the sacred pages; but the heathen historians, hearing that Semiramis, or other ancient princes, did what were wonders in their age, took care to tell them in a way and manner, that

should make them wonders in their own. In a word, Moses is the only writer whose accounts are liable to no exception. We must make allowances in many particulars to all others, and very great ones in the point before us, to reconcile them either to truth or probability; and I think I have met with a saying of an ancient writer, which seems to intimate it; for he uses words something to this purport: *Datur hæc venia antiquitati, ut miscendo ficta veris primordia sua augustiora faciat.*

In my history of the Assyrian empire after the Flood, I have followed that account which the ancient writers are supposed to have taken from Ctesias. Herodotus differs much from it; who imagines that the Assyrian[c] empire began only five hundred and twenty years before the Medes broke off their subjection to it; and thinks that Semiramis was but five generations older than Nitocris,[d] the mother of Labynetus, called in scripture Belshazzar,

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[c] Herod lib. 1, c. 95. [d] Id. ibid. c. 184.

in whose reign Cyrus took Babylon. Five generations, says Sir John Marsham,[e] could not make up two hundred years. Herodotus has been thought by all antiquity to be mistaken in this point. Herennius observes, that Babylon[f] was built by Belus, and makes it older than Semiramis by two thousand years, imagining, perhaps, Semiramis to be as late as Herodotus has placed her; or taking Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, to be Semiramis, as Photius[g] suggests Conon to have done. Herennius was, indeed, much mistaken in the antiquity of Babylon; but whoever considers his opinion, will find no reason to quote him, as Sir John Marsham[h] does in favour of Herodotus. Porphyry[i] is said to place Semiramis about the time of the Trojan war; but as he acknowledges, in the same place, that she might be older,

[e] Can. Chron. page 489.
[f] Apud. Steph. in Voce Bab.
[g] Phot. Tmem. 186, Narrat. 9.
[h] In loc. supr. cit.
[i] Euseb. Præp. lib. 1.

his opinion is no confirmation of the account given by Herodotus. From Moses's Nimrod to Nabonassar appears evidently from Scripture to be about one thousand five hundred years; for so many years there are between the time when Nimrod began to be a mighty one,[k] and the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, who was contemporary with Nabonassar; therefore Herodotus, in supposing the first Assyrian king to be but five hundred and twenty years before Deioces of Media, falls short of the truth above nine hundred years. But there ought to be no great stress laid upon Herodotus' account in this matter; as he himself seems to own that he had taken up his opinion from report only, and not examined any records to assure him of the truth.[l]

Ctesias, who was physician to Artaxerxes Mnemon, and lived in his court, and near his person about seventeen years, wrote his history about a hundred years after Herodo-

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[k] Genesis x. 8. 2 Kings xvi. 7.

[l] Lib. 1. c. 95. ως των Περσεων μετεξετεροι λεγουσι—— κατα ταυτα γραψω.

tus. He was every way well qualified to correct the mistakes which Herodotus made in his history of the Assyrian and Persian affairs; for he did not write as Herodotus did, from hearsay and report; but he searched the royal records of Persia, in which all transactions and affairs of the government were faithfully registered.[a] That there were such records was a thing well known; of which the books of Ezra and Esther give[b] us a testimony. Ctesias' account falls very well within the compass of time which the Hebrew Scriptures allow for such a series of kings as he has given us; and we have not only the Hebrew Scriptures to assure us that from Nimrod to Nabonassar were as many years as he computes; but it appears from what Callisthenes the philosopher,[c] who accompanied Alexander the Great, observed of the astronomy of the Babylonians; that they had been a people eminent for learning, for as long a time backward as

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[a] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2, p. 84.
[b] Ezra iv. 15. Esther vi. 1.
[c] Simplicius, lib. 2. de Cœlo.

Ctesias supposes. They had astronomical observations for one thousand nine hundred and three years backward when Alexander took Babylon; and Alexander's taking Babylon happening about four hundred and twenty years after Nabonassar, it is evident they must have been settled near one thousand five hundred years before his reign; and thus Ctesias' account is, as to the substance of it, confirmed by very good authorities. The Scriptures shew us, that there was such an interval between the first Assyrian king and Nabonassar, as he imagines. The observations of Callisthenes prove, that the Assyrians were promoters of learning during that whole interval; and Ctesias' account only supplies us with the number and names of the kings, whose reigns, according to the royal records of Persia, filled up such an interval. Ctesias' accounts, and Callisthenes' observations were not framed with a design to be suited exactly to one another, or to the Scripture; and therefore their agreeing so well together is a good confirmation of the truth of each.

There are, indeed, some things objected against Ctesias and his history. We find the ancients had but a mean opinion of him; for he is treated as a fabulous writer by Aristotle, Antigonus, Caristheus, Plutarch, Arrian, and Photius. But I might observe, none of these writers ever imagined that he had invented a whole catalogue of kings; but only related things not true of those persons of whom he has treated. There are, without doubt, many mistakes and transactions misreported in the writings of Ctseias, as there are in Herodotus, and in evry other heathen historian; but it would be a veryunfair way of criticizing, to set aside a whole work as fabulous, on account of some errors or falshoods found in it. However, H. Stephens has justly observed, that it was the Indian history of Ctesias, and not his Persian,[1] which was most liable to the objections of these writers. In that, indeed, he might sometimes romance, for we do not find he wrote it from such authentic vouch-

[1] Hen. Stephanus in Disquisitione de Ctesia.

ers; but in his Persian history there are evident proofs[q] that he had a disposition to tell the truth, where he might have motives to the contrary. In a word, though he might be mistaken in the grandeur of the first kings, or think their armies more numerous than they really were, and their empires greater, and their buildings more magnificent; yet there is no room to imagine that he could pretend to put off a list of kings, as extracted from the Persian records, whose names were never in them. Or if he had attempted to forge one, he could hardly have happened to fill up so exactly the interval; without making it more or less than it appears to have been from the Hebrew Scriptures, and from what was afterwards observed from the Chaldean astronomy.

I am sensible that the account which Callisthenes is said to give of the celestial observations at Babylon, is called in question by the same writers who dispute the authority of Ctesias; but with as little reason.

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[q] Id. ibid.

They quote Pliny,[1] who affirms Berosus to say, that the Babylonians had celestial observations for four hundred and eighty years backward from his time; and Epigenes to assert, that they had such observations for seven hundred and twenty years back from his time; and they would infer from hence, that the Babylonian observations reached no higher. But it is remarkable, that both Berosus and Epigenes suppose their observations to be no earlier than Nabonassar; for, from Nabonassar to the time in which Berosus flourished, is about four hundred and eighty years, and to the time of Epigenes about seven hundred and twenty.[2] The Babylonians had not (as I have observed) settled a good measure of a year, until about this time; and therefore could not be exact in their more ancient computations. Syncellus remarks[3] upon them to this purport; and for this reason Berosus, Epigenes, and Ptolomy afterwards, took no notice of what

[1] Plin. lib. 7. c. 56.
[2] Marsham Can. p. 474.
[3] Syncellus, p. 207.

they had observed before Nabonassar; not intending to assert, that they had made no observations; but, their astronomy not being at all exact, their observations were not thought worth examining.

There are some other arguments offered to invalidate the accounts of Ctesias. It is remarked, that the names of his kings are Persian, or Greek, and not Assyrian; and it is said, that he represents the state of Assyria otherwise than it appears to have been Gen. xiv, when Abraham with his household beat the armies of the king of Shinaar, Elam, and three other kings with them. But the latter of these objections will be answered in its place; and the former, I conceive, can have no weight with the learned, who know what a variety of names are given to the men of the first ages, by writers of different nations.

Upon the whole, Ctesias' catalogue of the first Assyrian kings seems a very consistent and well-grounded correction of Herodotus' hearsay and imperfect relation of their antiquities; and as such it has been received by

Diodorus Siculus, by Cephaleon, and Castor, by Trogus Pompeius, and Velleius Paterculus, and afterwards by Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus. Sir John Marsham raised the first doubts about it;[a] but I must think, that the accounts which he endeavours to give of the original of the Assyrians, will be always reckoned among the peculiarities of that learned gentleman. There are some small differences among the writers, who have copied from Ctesias about the true number of kings from Ninus to Sardanapalus, as well as about the sum of the duration of their reigns; but if what I have offered in defence of Ctesias himself may be admitted, the mistakes of those who have copied from him will be easily corrected in the proper place.

I hope the digressions in this work will not be thought too many, or too tedious; being occasioned by the circumstances of those times

[a] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 485. Speaking of Ctesias' catalogue, he says, De cujus veritate, cum nemo adhuc sit qui dubitaverit, &c.

of which I treat. I have not made it my business to write at large upon any of them; but thought a few general hints of what might be offered upon them, would be both acceptable to the reader, and not foreign to the purpose I have in hand; all of them, if duly considered, tending very evidently to illustrate the sacred history. There are two subjects which the reader might expect at the beginning of this work; one of them is the account of the creation of the world, the other the state of Adam and Eve in paradise, their fall, and their loss of it. Of the former of these I would give some account in this place; the latter, I think, may be treated with greater clearness, when I come hereafter to speak of Moses and his writings.*

I. The account which Moses gives of the creation, is to this purport:

In the beginning, God created the heavens and the earth.

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* See this subject treated at large in the Supplement to this work. Edit.

The earth after it was created was for some time a confused and indigested mass of matter, a dark and unformed chaos; but GOD in six days reduced it into a world, in the following manner:

First, The Spirit of GOD moved upon the fluid matter, and separated the parts of which it consisted from from one another; some of them shined like the light of the day, others were opake like the darkness of the night; GOD separated them one from the other; and this was the first step taken in the formation of the world.

Secondly, GOD thought it proper to have an * expansion between the earth and heaven, capable of supporting clouds of water: the appointing this expansion, and suspending the waters in it, was the work of the second day.

Thirdly, After this, GOD caused the waters of the earth to be drawn off, so as to

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* רקיע *rachiang*, properly signifies an *expansion*, and not what is implied by the Greek word στερεωμα, or our English word *firmament*.

drain the ground, and thus were the seas gathered together, and the dry land appeared; and then GOD produced from the earth all manner of trees, and grass, and herbs, and fruits.

On the fourth day, GOD made the lights of heaven capable of being serviceable to the world in several respects, fitted to distribute light and heat, to divide day and night, and to mark out times, seasons, and years; two of them were more especially remarkable, the sun and the moon: the sun he made to shine in the day, the moon by night; and he gave the stars their proper places.

Fifthly, Out of the waters GOD created all the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air.

On the sixth day, out of the earth GOD made all the other living creatures, beasts, cattle, and every thing that creepeth upon the earth. Last of all, he made man, a more noble creature than any of the rest: he made his body of the dust of the earth, and afterwards animated him with a living soul. And out of the man he made the

woman. This is the substance of the account given by Moses of the creation of the world. Moses did not write until above two thousand three hundred years after the creation; but we have nothing extant so ancient as this account.

II. We have several heathen fragments, which express many of the sentiments of Moses about the creation. The scene of learning in the first ages, lay in India, in the countries near to Babylon, in Egypt, and in time it spread into Greece.

The Indians have been much famed for their ancient learning. Magasthenes is cited by Clemens Alexandrinus,[x] representing the Indians and the Jews as the great masters of the learning, for which afterwards the Greeks were famous; but the antiquities of these nations have either been little known, or their ancient learning is by some accident lost, for our best late enquirers can now meet no remains of it. Strabo and Clemens Alexandrinus give hints of several

[x] Strom. lib. 1, p. 360. Edit. Oxon.

notions amongst them, which would argue that they have been a very learned people; but the only considerable specimen we now have of their literature, is the writings of Confucius. Their present notions of philosophy are mean and vulgar, and whatever their ancient learning was, it was either destroyed by their emperor Zio, who, they say, burnt all their ancient books, or by some other accident it is lost.

The works of the most ancient Phœnician, Egyptian, and many of the Greek writers, are also perished; but succeeding generations have accidentally preserved many of their notions, and we have considerable fragments of their writings transmitted to us. The Egyptians, Diodorus Siculus [y] informs us, affirmed, that in the beginning the heavens and the earth were in one lump, mixed and blended together in the same mass. This assertion may at first sight seem to differ from Moses, who makes the heavens and the earth distinct at their first creation;

[y] Diocor. Sic. lib. 1.

but it is obvious to observe, that the Egyptians did not take the word heaven in the large and extended sense, but only signified by it the air and planetary regions belonging to our world; for the first Greeks, who had their learning from Egypt, agree very fully with Moses in this point. "In the beginning," says Orpheus,[a] "the heavens were made by GOD, and in the heavens there was a chaos, and a terrible darkness was on all the parts of this chaos, and covered all things under the heaven." This is very agreeable to that of Moses: *In the beginning GOD created the heavens and the earth, and the earth was without form, and void*, i. e. was a chaos, *and darkness was upon the face of the deep. Orpheus* did not conceive that the heavens and the earth had ever been in one mass: for as Syrian[b] observes, the heavens and the chaos were,

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[a] Suid. voc. Ορφ: Creden. ex Timol. p. 57. Procl. in Tim. βιϛ. ϛ. p. 117.

[b] Arist. Metaph. p. 2.

according to Orpheus, the principia out of which the rest were produced.

The ancient heathen writers do not generally begin their accounts so high as the creation of the heavens and the chaos; they commonly go no further back than to the formation of the chaos into a world. Moses describes this in the following manner: *the earth was without form, and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep, and the Spirit of* GOD *moved upon the face of the waters.* Anaxagoras, as Laertius informs us, began his book,[b] "All things were at first in one mass, but an intelligent agent came and put them in order;" or as Aristotle[c] gives us his opinion, "all things," says he, "lay in one mass, for a vast space of time, but an intelligent agent came and put them in motion, and so separated them from one another." We have

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[b] Παντα χρηματα ην ομου ειτα Νους ελθων αυτα διεκοσμησε.

[c] Φησι γαρ Ἀνεξαγορας, ομου παντων οντων και ἡρεμουντων του απειρον χρονον, κινησιν εμποιησαι τον νουν και διακριναι. Arist. Phys. Ausc. l. 8, c. 1.

Sanchoniathon's account of things in Eusebius, and if we throw aside the mythology and false philosophy which those who lived after him added to his writings; we may pick up a few very ancient and remarkable truths, namely, that there was a dark and confused chaos, and a blast of wind or air to put it in a ferment or agitation. This wind he calls πνευμα Κολπια, not the wind *Colpia*, as Eusebius seems to take it, but πνευμα *Col-pi-yah*, i. e.[d] the wind or breath of the voice, of the mouth of the LORD; and if this was his meaning, he very emphatically expresses GOD's making all things with a word, and intimates also what the Chaldee paraphrast insinuates from the words of Moses, that the chaos was put into its first agitation by a mighty and strong wind.

Some general hints of these things are to be found in many remains of the ancient Greek writers. Thales' opinion was, that the first principle of all things was ὑδωρ, or

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[d] קול־פי־יה

water.'[e] And Tully affirms this to[f] have been his opinion; but it should be remarked, from Plutarch's observation, that Thales' ὑδωρ was not pure elementary water. The successors of Thales came by degrees to think that water, by being condensed, might be made earth, and by being rarified would evaporate into air; and some writers have hence imagined, that Thales thought water to be the *initium rerum*, i. e. the first principle out of which all other things were made: but this was not the doctrine of Thales. The ancient philosophers are said to have called water, chaos, from χεω the Greek word which signifies *diffusion;* so that the word chaos was used ambiguously, sometimes as a proper name, and sometimes for water; and it is conceived, that this might occasion the opinion of Thales' to be mistaken, and himself to be represented as asserting the beginning of things to be from *chaos*, *water*,

[e] Ἀρχην των παντων ὑδωρ υπεστησατο, Laert.

[f] Lib. de Natura Deorum 1. § 10. Thales Milesius aquam dixit esse initium rerum.

when he meant from a chaos. But take him in the other sense, asserting things to have arisen from water; it is easy to suppose that he means, by water, a fluid substance, for this was the ancient doctrine. Thus Sanchoniathon argues, from the chaos he supposes מוד or muddy matter to arise; and thus Orpheus,[a] out of the fluid chaos, arose a muddy substance; and Apollonius,[b] out of the muddy substance the earth was formed, i. e. says the scholiast, the chaos of which all things were made, was a fluid substance; which by settling, became mud, and that in time dried and condensed into solid earth. It is remarkable that Moses calls the chaos, water, in this sense; the Spirit of God, he says, moved upon the face of the *main*, waters, or fluid matter.

The fragments to be collected from the Greek writers are but few and short; the Egyptian are something larger. According to Diodorus,[1] they assert, 1. as I have before

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[a] Ἐκ τοῦ ὑδατώδους ἰλύος κατεσχέθη.

[b] Ἐξ ἰλύος ἐλαχύνθη χθὼν αὖτη. [1] Lib. 1.

hinted, that the heavens and earth were at first in one confused and mixed heap. 2. That upon a separation, the lightest and most fiery parts flew upwards,[k] and became the lights of heaven. 3. That the earth was in time drained of the water. 4. That the moist clay of the earth, enlivened by[l] the heat of the sun, brought forth living creatures, and men. A very little turn would accommodate these particulars to those of Moses; as may be seen by comparing the account of Diodorus with that which is given us by the author of the Pimander in Jamblichus. The ancient philosophy had been variously commented upon, disguised and disfigured, according as the idolatry of the world had corrupted men's notions, or the speculations of the learned had misled them, before the times of Diodorus Siculus. And it is so far from being an objection, that the

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[k] This was the opinion of Empedocles. Ἐμπεδοκλης πυρινα τα ἀστρα εκ του πυρωδους, οπερ ο αἰθηρ εν εαυτω περιεχων ἐξεθλιψε κατα την πρωτην διακρισιν Plutarch. Placit. Phil. 2. 13.

[l] Τα ζωα εκ της ἰλυος γεννηθηναι, was a position embraced by Archelaus and several other Greeks.

accounts he gives do in some points diff
from Moses, that it is rather a wonder th
he, or any other writer, could, after so ma
revolutions of religion, of learning, of kin
doms, of ages, be able to collect from t
remains of antiquity any positions so agre
able to one another, as those which he h
given us, and the accounts of Moses are.

III. But though the ancients have hint
many of the positions laid down by Mose
yet we do not find that they ever made u
of any true or solid reasoning, or were ma
ters of any clear and well-grounded learnin
which might lead them to the knowledge
these truths. All the knowledge which t
ancients had in these points lay at first
a narrow compass; they were in possessi
of a few truths, which they had receiv
from their fore-fathers; they transmitt
these to their children, only telling the
that such and such things were so, but n
giving them reasons for, or demonstrations
the truth of them. Philosophy[m] was n

[m] Clem. Alex. Strom. 8. ad Princip.

disputative until it came into Greece; the ancient professors had no controversies about it; they received what was handed down to them, and out of the treasure of their traditions imparted to others; and the principles they went upon to teach or to learn by, were not to search into the nature of things, or to consider what they could find by philosophical examinations, but "ask and it shall be told you; search the records of antiquity, and you shall find what you enquire after:" these were the maxims and directions of their studies.

This was the method in which the ancient Greeks were instructed in the Egyptian physiology The Egyptians taught their disciples geometry, astronomy, physic, and some other arts; and in these, it is likely, they laid a foundation, and taught the elements and principles of each science. But in physiology the case was quite otherwise; the Egyptians themselves knew but little of it, though they made the most of their small stock of knowledge, by keeping it concealed, and diverting their students from attempt-

Badis, to the times of Aristotle, are about three hundred years, and during all that space of time, philosophy, in all its branches, was cultivated by the greatest wits of Greece, with all possible industry; but they had only Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, who were the eminent masters, all the other philosophers must be ranged under these, as being only explainers or commentators upon their works, or, at most, the builders of a hypothesis, from some hints given by them. Thales, Pythagoras, and Plato, were the originals of the Greek learning; and it is remarkable, that they did not invent that part of their philosophy of which I am treating, but travelled for it, and collected from the records of other nations.

Thales, we find,[q] travelled into Egypt, and after having spent some years there, brought home with him a few traditions, which, though but few, obtained him the credit of being the first who made a dissertation upon nature;[r] for in truth, all before

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[q] Laert.

[r] Πρωτος δε και περι φυσιως διελεχθη. Id.

him was fable and allegory. But Thales was so far from having furnished himself with all that might be collected, or from pretending to build a theory of natural knowledge upon principles of speculation; that he advised[a] Pythagoras, who studied for some time under him, to finish his studies in the way and method that he himself had taken. According to his directions, Pythagoras, for above forty years together,[b] travelled from nation to nation, from Greece to Phœnicia, from Phœnicia to Egypt, and from Egypt to Babylon, searching every place he came at, and gathering all the traditions he could meet with, not omitting to converse with any person eminent for learning, and endeavouring to collect from the Egyptians and the Jews, and all others he could meet with, every ancient dogma. These were the pursuits of Pythagoras, and from this his course

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[a] Jamblic. de vit. Pythag. [b] Porph. de vit. Pyth. et Jamblic. Voss. de Philos. sect. 1. 2, c. 2, sect. 2. Clem. Alex. Strom. 1. Id. Strom. 5. Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 6. Joseph. contra Apion. Orig. adv. Cels. lib. 1.

of study, and his diligent researches, he acquired a great stock of ancient truths, collected in such a manner, that it is no wonder he afterwards taught them with an air of authority condemned by Cicero,[a] who would have set philosophy upon the basis of reason and argument. But Pythagoras took up his notions upon the authority of others, and could therefore give them to his disciples no otherwise than he had them. His αυτος εφη was the proof of what he asserted, for he had collected, not invented his science; and so he declared or delivered what he had gathered up, but he did not pretend to argue, or give reasons for it.

If we look into the writings of Plato, we may see that he confessed, in the freest manner, what I am contending for. He never asserted that his physiology was the product of his invention or the result of rational enquiries and speculations; but acknowledged it to be a collection of traditions gleaned up from the remains of those who lived before him. In general he asserts,[x] that the Greeks

[a] Lib. de Nat. Deorum, 1, sect. 5.

[x] In Cratyl. 1. p. 426.

received their most valuable learning from the traditions of Barbarians more ancient than themselves; and often speaks of Phœnician and Syrian, i.e. Hebrew fables,[y] as the ground of many of their notions. He particularly instances a Phœnician fable[z] concerning the fraternity of mankind, and their first derivation from the ground, or earth; and confesses[a] that their knowledge of the Deity was derived from the gods, who communicated it to men by one Prometheus; nay, he calls it a tradition which the ancients, who, says he, were better, and dwelt nearer the gods than we, have transmitted to us. In his treatise, *De Legibus*,[b] he makes mention of an ancient tradition about the nature of GOD. And in his Phœdo,[c] treating of the Immortality of the Soul, he introduces Socrates reminding his friend, that they had an ancient tradition asserting it; and that the surest and best way to prove it was by the divine account or tradition of it. In his

[y] See Bochart's Phaleg. l. 4. c. 24.
[z] Lib de Rep. 3. p. 414. [a] In Phileb. p. 17.
[b] De Legib. l. 3 [c] In Phædon. p. 96.

Timæus,[d] being about to treat of the Origin of the Universe, he lays down this preliminary, "It is just, that both I who discourse, and you that judge, should remember that we are but men, and therefore receiving the probable mythologic tradition, it is meet that we enquire no further into it." In his Politics[e] he gives a large account of Adam's state of innocence, in the fable of Saturn's golden age, which he was so far from taking in the literal sense of the poets, that he complains of the want of a fit interpreter to give its true meaning. In the same manner his fable of Porus' getting drunk in Jupiter's garden, was very probably derived from the ancient accounts of Adam's fall in the garden of Eden. In short, Plato's works are every where full of the ancient traditions; which, as he had collected very carefully, so he always endeavoured to deliver without art or reserve, excepting only some fabulous turn, which he was now and then forced to give them, to humour the Greeks.

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[d] In Timæo, p. 29. [e] P. 272.

There were many philosophers among the Greeks, who in their several times endeavoured to reason upon the positions that had been laid down by these masters; and to form a system by deductions of argument and speculation, but all their attempts this way proved idle and insufficient; truth suffered, instead of being advanced by them. Pherecydes endeavoured to form a system from the poets,[f] and wrote a Theogonia in ten books: but his performance was dark and fabulous, full of fancy and allegory, but in no wise a specimen of true philosophy. The followers of Thales made attempts of the same sort, with as little success. Anaximander and Anaximenes endeavoured to form a system upon Thales' principles; but instead of clearing any thing that had been advanced by their master, or of opening a way to more truth, than he had discovered; they rather puzzled his philosophy with a number of intricate and confused notions. Anaxagoras undertook to correct the mistakes of Anaximenes and Anaximander, and pretended to set Thales'

[f] Laert. Ger. Voss de Histor. Græc. lib. 4. c. 4.

principles in their true light; and he is clear and consistent just so far as he keeps to Thales' traditions; but wherever we find him attempting to speculate and give reasons, there he appears but trifling and inconclusive.

Amongst all these philosophers, Leucippus and Democritus seem to have laid the best foundation for a good and rational theory of nature. They did not puzzle themselves with[s] hard words of no meaning, harmonic forms, ideas, qualities, and elements; but considered matter as a system of infinitely small particles contained in an infinite extension of void or space; but however they came by these principles, they either set them in so different a light, or the studies of others had carried them into notions so opposite, that this scheme, which had the most truth in it, was less understood and more exploded than any other.

As the traditions of Thales suffered by being mingled with the philosophy of his successors; so the doctrines of Pythagoras met the same fate. His disciples were willing to

[s] Burnet. Archæol.

have a system, and to give reasons for the truths they had to offer; but if we consider what reasons they gave, what schemes they built; what comments they made upon their master's doctrines; we shall be abundantly convinced, that the doctrines of Pythagoras were not invented by their way of reasoning. The Pythagoreans must be allowed to have been in possession of many considerable truths; but the reasons and arguments they offered to prove them by, are weak and frivolous, and the additions they made to them are trifling and inconsistent; and all their speculations so false, or so idle, as to shew that they did not think well enough to discover the noble and just sentiments which they had concerning their works of nature. We have nothing of Pythagoras now extant, nor[h] are we certain that he ever wrote any philosophical composition. It is most probable that all his vast stock of knowledge was contained in a select number of sen-

[h] Ο μεν γε Δισωσιθ. Πυθαγορας, μηδεν αυτος ημιν ιδιον καταλιπων των αυτω ηξιωσιν. Lucian. in Libro pro lapsu inter Salutandum. The books ascribed to him by Pliny, and other writers, are esteemed fictitious.

tences, which he expressed after the manner of the Egyptians, and explained to his disciples. But we have several Pythagorean fragments, and attempts of his followers; and a complete book of Timœus Locrus; and we may see from any of these performances, that as soon as these men ventured to enlarge beyond the dogmata of their master, and advanced speculations which they had not his authority to support; instead of maintaining the credit of their philosophy, they corrupted it by degrees, made it subtil and unintelligible, until in time they sunk it to nothing.

The last of the ancient philosophers was Aristotle; whose system was indeed invented. He rejected the ancient traditional knowledge, thinking it unbecoming a philosopher to offer opinions to the world, which he could not prove to be true; but then I am sensible it will be allowed me, that what he advanced is so totally distant from truth, that he will never be an instance of an ancient, who by reason and good argument produced a well-grounded theory of natural knowledge.

Thus, if we look over all the philoso-

phers, and consider what the treasures of knowledge were, which they had among them; we shall find that there were many beams of true light shining amidst their dark and confused notions: but this light was never derived from any use of their reason, (for they never could give any reasonable account of it.) The invisible things of God had been some way or other related to them; and as long as they were contented to transmit to posterity, what their ancestors had transmitted to them, so long they preserved a considerable number of truths. But whenever they attempted to give reasons for these opinions, then in a little time they bewildered themselves, under a notion of advancing their science; then they ceased to retain the truth in their knowledge, changed the true principles of things, which had been delivered to them, into a false, weak, and inconsistent scheme of ill-grounded philosophy. And now let us see,

IV. What does necessarily follow, if this be true. If the natural knowledge which the ancients had was traditional; if the succeeding generation received down only some

How should Adam discover the manner of his own creation, or describe the formation of the world, which was created before he had any being? Besides, if these things were discoverable by reason, and Adam, or any other person brought them to light by a due course of thinking, and related them to their children, what were the traces of this reasoning? Where to be found, or how were they lost? 'Tis strange these things should be so obvious at first; that an early attempt should discover so much truth, and that all the wit and learning which came after, for five or six thousand years, should, instead of improving, only puzzle and confound it. If Adam, or some other person of extraordinary learning, had, by a chain of reasoning, brought these truths into the world, some hints or other of the argument would have remained, as well as the truths produced by it; or some succeeding authors would at one time or other, have reasoned

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tempore quo mundus Divinæ mentis ac providi numinis ratione formatus est; nec eo usque se intentio potuit humanæ fragilitatis extendere, ut originem mundi facile possit ratione concipere aut explicare. *Julius Firmicus Maternus.* Mathes. lib. 3. c.2.

as fortunately as his predecessor—but nothing of this sort happened; instead of it we find, that the early ages had a great stock of truths, which they were so far from having learning enough to invent or discover, that they could not so much as give a good account of the true meaning of them. A due consideration of these things must lead us to believe, that GOD at first revealed these things unto men; that he acquainted them with what he had done in the creation of the world; and what he had thus communicated to them, they transmitted to their children's children. Thus GOD, *who in these last days hath spoken unto us by his Son*, did in the beginning in some extraordinary manner speak unto our fathers; for there was a stock of knowledge in the world, which we cannot see how the possessors could possibly have obtained any other way. Therefore fact, as well as history, testifies that the notion of a revelation is no dream; and that Moses, in representing the early ages of the world as having had converse with the Deity, does no more than what the state of their knowledge obliges us to believe.

Shelton, Norfolk, Oct. 2, 1727.

STRICTURES

On Dr. Shuckford's Account of the Heathen Gods, and Egyptian Dynasties before Menes: preceded by a short Account of the Manner in which the Egyptians buried their Dead, whence originated the Grecian Fable of Charon, *his* Bark, *and the* Stygean Lake. *By the Right Rev. Dr.* R. Clayton, *Bishop of Clogher.*

There is a remarkable circumstance attending the lake Mœris, which shews the situation of the city of Memphis to have been originally, as described by Herodotus, southward of the Pyramids and the Plain of mummies, or the burial place of the Egyptians. This circumstance occurs from the name given to this lake, even at this day, by the Arabians; namely, the Birque, or lake of Charon. As it is acknowledged that the Plain of mummies or burying-place of the ancient Egyptians, lies to the north of the lake Mœris; therefore, in order that the

corpses of the Egyptians might be brought by boat to this burial-place, it was necessary they should come somewhere from the south. And as Memphis lay, according to Herodotus, on the south-east corner of the lake Mœris; it is more than probable, that it was the custom of transporting the corpses of the ancient inhabitants of Memphis, in Charon's ferry-boat, from Memphis to the Plain of mummies, which first occasioned this denomination to be given to that lake; and also the inventions of the Grecian poets in a great part of the heathen mythology. This is positively asserted by Diodorus Siculus, who mentions it as an Egyptian custom of ancient date, for persons to be appointed at every one's interment to examine their past lives. "Before the body was buried (says he) the relations of the deceased gave notice both to the judges and friends of the deceased, of the day appointed for the interment, saying, that such a one, naming the deceased by his name, is about to pass the lake. Then the judges, being in number forty, sitting in a place prepared for them in the form of a semicircle, on the other side of

the lake; the corpse was brought over in a boat, conducted by a person, who in the Egyptian tongue was called Charon: but before the corpse was suffered to be put into its coffin, every one was permitted to accuse the dead person. If he was found to have lived a wicked life, the judges gave sentence that he should not be allowed to be buried; but if no accuser appeared, or the accuser was convicted of falsehood, then the friends of the deceased made a funeral oration in his favour, and put the corpse into its coffin, and carried it to the place of interment. Those who were condemned to be unworthy of sepulture, either on account of crimes or debts, were carried home again by their friends, and prohibited from being put even into a coffin. Orpheus having observed this custom, says he, from thence framed the fables of the infernal Deities." In the following chapter he particularly mentions Memphis as the place from whence Orpheus borrowed the scene of the lake Acherusia, and the Elysian fields. "There are, says he, about Memphis delightful fields and lakes filled with aromatic reeds; and in this place

the Egyptians for the most part bury their dead. And these corpses being brought over the lake Acherusia to the burying-place of the Egyptians, and there deposited, has given rise to all those fictions which the Grecians have raised concerning the infernal deities." Here it is to be observed, that these aromatic reeds, with which this lake and the adjoining lands abound, are in the original called αχερωις, *acheroes*, and therefore it is probable that this lake was from thence denominated Ἀχερουσια λιμνη, the *Acherusian lake*: which also shews the absurdity of all those derivations of the word Acheron, that are to be found in the Greek lexicons. And probably these acheroes are the same with those sweet scented reeds, or canes as they are called in the Hebrew, which are mentioned Exod. xxx. 23. and Jer. vi. 20 which were used by the Israelites in the composition of their perfumes; and are spoken of as being brought from a far country.

This however is manifest from what is before said, that the lake Mœris, or the Acherusian lake, or the Birque of Charon, bordered on the city of Memphis, and lay

between that city and the plain of mummies or the burying-place of the Egyptians.

We have already seen, that the situation of Memphis, and the custom of the Egyptians in burying their dead, by carrying them to the plain of mummies in Charon's ferry boat cross the Acherusian lake, first gave origin to the Grecian fiction of the Elysian fields, with the infernal judges Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Æacus, &c. And Herodotus is very positive, that Hesiod and Homer, who lived only about four hundred years before him, were the first who regulated the system of the Grecian theology, assigned names to the several gods, and allotted them their several employments. Dr. Shuckford, however, has undertaken to give us their real history; and in the first volume of his Connection supposes, from Syncellus and Manetho, that the eight demigods, and fifteen heroes of the Egyptian dynasties before Menes, were real persons living in Egypt before the Flood. "For,[k]

[k] Shuckf. Con. vol. i. p. 11.

says he, "Manetho rightly conjectures that they were antediluvians." But, if they were such, how could Manetho or any one else come by their history? These eight demigods, he says from Diodorus, were Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, and Mercurius.[1] Whereas Herodotus declares, that Juno and Vesta were names utterly unknown in Egypt. And in the third vol. of his Connection, Dr. Shuckford gives us the memoirs of the life of Jupiter, and supposes him to have lived in Greece from about the time of Moses to within three or four centuries of the Trojan war. He seems to place the principal scene of his activity about seven or eight generations before the war of Troy; and gives him a most numerous progeny. And because most of the kingdoms in Greece derived the origin of their state at about the distance of seven or eight generations of descent from Jupiter, he therefore concludes, that Jupiter lived about the time of Moses. Whereas the true con-

[1] Shuckf. Con. vol. ii. p. 298.

clusion to be deduced from thence is, not that Jupiter lived, but that the use of letters was not known in Greece till about seven or eight generations of descent before the war of Troy; about which time Moses lived, and a little after which Cadmus first introduced them into Greece. For [m] Cadmus was father to Polydorus, the father of Labdacus, the father of Laius, the father of Oedipus, the father of Polynices, the father of Thyrsander, who was one of the warriors at the siege of Troy. Accordingly Diodorus observes, [n] that Semele, the daughter of Cadmus, was the last of mortals with whom Jupiter had any intrigues. Hence, it may be presumed that, as before that time, when the Grecians were at a loss for the genealogy of their kings or princes, they fathered them upon Jupiter; so now the introduction of letters put an end to his amours. Therefore it is most probable, that there never was any such real person as Jupiter, in Greece, any more than

[m] Apolled. l. iii. [n] Diod. l. iv. c. 2.

there were such real persons as Chronus, Uranus, or Tellus, in Phœnicia, Assyria, or Egypt. Whereas Dr. Shuckford collects from Diodorus and Apollodorus, that Chronus was the son of Uranus, and that from Uranus and Tythæa, or Tellus, were also born the Centimani and the Cyclops, whom their father Uranus sent to inhabit the land of Tartarus. What or where that country was, which was thus named, he says, may be difficult to determine; but gravely concludes that it can be no part of Crete.

Now if we look into the description of Chronus, given by Sanchoniatho, it will plainly convince us, that the representation was not taken from any real person; but the design of it was only to give us a symbolical description of time, as the name properly imports. For he is described with four eyes, two before, and two behind; two of which were always shut, and two were always open; denoting that time has a reference both to what is past and what is to come; and is always upon the watch, even when it seems to be at rest. He was also delineated with

four wings, two of which were stretched out as in the action of flight, and two were contracted as in repose; denoting that time, even when seemingly stationary passes on, and when flying, is yet seemingly at a stand. Chronus is likewise by Sanchoniatho said to have dispatched his son with his own hand, and cut off the head of his own daughter, &c. Which is only a metaphorical account of time's destroying his own produce. For thus Cicero,* speaking of the real opinion which the ancients had of Chronus, saith, "Saturnum autem eum esse voluerunt, qui cursum et conversionem spatiorum ac temporum contineret, qui deus Græce id ipsum nomen habet: Κρονος, enim dicitur, qui est idem Χρονος, id est, spatium temporis. Saturnus autum est appellatus, quod saturetur annis. Ex se enim natos commesse fingitur solitus, quia consumit ætas temporum spatia, annisque præteritis insaturabiliter expletur."

* Cicero de Nat. Deor. l. ii. 25.

Dr. Shuckford also gives us a history of the court of Jupiter upon earth; and supposes that Neptune and Pluto were his brothers, Juno his wife, Vesta and Ceres his sisters; Vulcan, Mars, Apollo, Diana, Mercury, Venus, and Minerva his children; and imagine that they all had been deified after their death, on account of their having so wisely established the government of Crete. But I cannot conceive how he will be able to reconcile this with the eight demigods of Manetho; among whom are Jupiter, Juno, Vulcan, Vesta, and Mercury, supposed by him to have reigned in Egypt before the Flood; and who, as he positively asserts in another place, certainly lived before the Flood.[p] And again, speaking of the same deities, he says, the truth is they were their antediluvian ancestors."[q]

Whereas the truth is, they were their postdiluvian ancestors, some of whom were of Egyptian, some of Phœnician, and some

[p] Shuckf. Con. vol. ii. p. 286.
[q] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 288.

of Grecian origin. The Phœnicians and Grecians, were they who introduced into Egypt the custom of worshipping gods in the form and figure of men; as appears manifestly even from the famous god Vulcan, to whom a temple was erected by Menes in Memphis. For it is plain from the very form of the statue, as described by Herodotus, that this was one of the Dii Patæci of the Phœnicians, being, as he says, like those Phœnician figures which are placed in the prows of their ships, and called Πατηκοι, not exceeding the figure of a pigmy. And in another place he says that that quarter of the city of Memphis, where the temple of Vulcan stood, was inhabited by Phœnicians from Tyre; and that all that region was called the Tyrian camp. Herodotus mentions also a temple built to Perseus in the city of Chemis in the province of Thebes; but at the same time says that gymnastic exercises were there instituted entirely agreeing with those used in Greece. Which plainly shews that the origin of that temple and worship had been Grecian.

Hence it appears, in considering the antiquities of Egypt, how necessary it is to distinguish between the customs, inscriptions, and deities of the original Egyptians, that is, of those who were the Aborigines of the country; and those customs, inscriptions, or deities, which were introduced afterwards by the Phœnicians or Grecians, who came in later ages to inhabit there; though they are all equally called Egyptian. Otherwise we shall not be able to reconcile many seeming difficulties, as well in Herodotus as in later writers. Thus, for instance,[r] Herodotus affirms that the custom of predicting future events was derived from the Egyptians. And the account he gives of it is this: the priests of the Theban Jupiter told him that two priestesses were carried out of that country by certain Phœnicians, who afterwards, as they were informed, sold one in Libya, and the other in Greece; from which priestesses the people of those countries learned the art of divination. Whereas, when

[r] Herod. l. ii.

he is describing the customs of the Aborigines Egyptians, he expressly says[1] that no woman can act as a priest of any god or goddess; men only being employed in that office.

The Grecians were a people of a lively imagination, and readily took any traditionary hint, given by the Egyptians, and improved it into a regular fable. Of this there is a remarkable instance in the story related by Diodorus and Plutarch of the birth of five gods, when "Rhea being with child by Saturn, was discovered by the sun, who, upon finding out her baseness, laid a curse upon her, that she should not be delivered in any month or year: that Mercury being in love with the goddess, lay with her also; and then played at dice with the moon, and won from her the seventy second part of each day, and made up these winnings five days, which he added to the year, making the year to consist of three hundred and sixty five days, which before consisted of three hundred and sixty days only; and that in

[1] Herod. lib. 2.

learning. But he no where explains who this Hermes was. Dr. Shuckford says also that Pathros, whom he calls "Pathrusim, is supposed to have first invented the use of letters; but Naphtuhim is said to have learnt both them, and several other useful arts from him, and instructed his people in them. In proof of this Dr. Shuckford quotes Syncellus and Sir John Marsham; but unfortunately neither Syncellus nor Marsham say one word about Naphtuhim, that I could find.

If we look into Plutarch, we shall see that the inhabitants of Thebais in upper Egypt were alone of all the Egyptians free from taxes towards supporting the sacred animals, because they worshipped only the god Cneph; whom I suppose to be the same with Neph, as Ham was indifferently called Cham or Ham. And Eusebius[r] says from Philo-Byblius, that that idol under the figure of a serpent with the head of a hawk, which the Phœnicians called agathodæmon,

[r] Euseb. Præp lib. 1. c. 10.

or the good dæmon, the Egyptians called Cneph.

And what proves that this Cneph or Neph was not an imaginary idol, but a real man who had been deified by some of his admirers for his great endowments, is, that Eusebius[a] likewise says the Egyptians worshipped the god Cneph under the image of a king with a girdle about his waste and a sceptre in his hand, and an egg coming out of his mouth; which egg was looked upon as an emblem of the world. And Strabo[b] says that there was in an island adjoining to Syene the temple and nilometre of the god Cneph; whom, according to the Greek termination of the word, he calls Cnuphis. Which nilometre, or machine for measuring the increase of the Nile, shews that this god Cneph, Cnuphis, or Neph, had been some remarkable person living near Syene, who had been famous for the use of characteristic marks in his obser-

[a] Euseb. Præp. lib. 3. c. 11

[b] Strabo, p. 817.

vations on the rise of the Nile. For, says Strabo, "this nilometre was a canal cut out of one entire stone on the bank of the Nile, in which were engraven several lines to denote the different increases of the Nile; to which were also added several characteristic marks to denote upon certain days the future increase of the Nile. By observing these, persons of skill were capable of forming certain presages of the ensuing season; and could prognosticate, whether it was likely to be fruitful or otherwise."

What confirms this opinion further is the great variety of emblematical figures under which the gods Cnuph and Thoth were characterised; all which seem plainly to have taken their origin from the nilometre of the god Cnuphis near Syene. For since, as Strabo expressly says,[b] the Egyptian temples had no images in them, that is, none of human form; but only those of some animal, substituted to denote the object of their worship; hence it was, that the various em-

[b] Strabo. lib. 17.

blematical characters made use of by Cneph in his nilometre furnished those persons, who out of regard to his memory were fond to worship him as a god after his death, with a variety of emblematical representations under which he might be adored. As for example, that of a serpent with a lion's head, of a serpent with a hawk's head, or that of a dog.

As to that famous emblem of a dog, under which this god Cnuphis, or, as Virgil calls him,[a] Latrator Anubis, was worshipped, it is certain, that the brilliant star, which is known among astronomers by the name of the dog-star, and is one of the brightest in the whole firmament, becomes visible in Egypt in the month of July, about the time of the year when, it is agreed by all writers, the Nile generally begins to overflow its banks. This star is therefore called by Hesiod Σειριος Ἀστηρ, i. e. Sihoris Aster, the star of the river Sihor or the Nile; Sihor being the name by which the

[a] Virgil. Æn. lib. viii. ver 698.

river Nile was known in early times, as appears from Josh. xiii. 3. and Jeremiah ii. 18. which name was probably given it on account of the dark colour of its waters at the time of its inundation: being derived from the Hebrew verb שחר *Shachar*, *niger fuit*, *denigratus est*, whence also it was called by the Greeks, Μελας. And hence Virgil, speaking of this river, says,

Et viridem Ægyptum nigra fœcundat arena.

where Servius in his notes remarks, *nam antea Nilus* MELO *dicebatur*. And therefore this symbol of a dog might have been used by Neph in his nilometre as a characteristic mark to denote the rise of this star, which warned them to prepare their grounds for being flooded by the Nile. Whence probably it obtained the name of the dog-star; and Neph might himself in after-ages be worshipped under this symbol, and hence also obtain the name of Taautus or Taaut, i. e. the dog.[d]

[d] Hist. du Ciel.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK I.

WHATEVER may have been the opinions of philosophers, or the fables of poets, about the origin of mankind, we are sufficiently informed from [a] history, that we are descended from two persons, Adam and Eve. They lived in the eastern parts of the world; their first children were Cain and Abel. Josephus [b] mentions their having daughters, but does not say how many; what their names were, [c] when they were born, or how they married.

[a] Gen. i. 26. ii. 7, &c. Sanchoniatho begins mankind from two mortals, Protogonus and Eon; the other heathen writers are not so particular. Diodorus Siculus formed his account of the origin of mankind, not from history, but from what he thought to be the ancient philosophy.

[b] Antiquit. lib. i. c. ii. p. 7.

[c] Some writers have imagined that Cain and Abel were twins,

Cain and Abel grew men, but were of a different genius and disposition; Cain was an husbandman, Abel a shepherd: Abel was more virtuous than his brother, and when they brought their offerings, his sacrifice was accepted beyond Cain's; Cain hereupon took a private opportunity, and out of envy and malice killed him. And this was the first act of violence committed in the world; it proceeded from a principle, which many actions of the same sort have since proceeded from, a spirit of emulation, which being not duly managed, and made a spur to virtue, took an unhappy turn, and degenerated into malice and revenge. Soon after Cain had committed this wicked action, GOD appeared to him; but the examination and result of this affair will be best seen, if I add it in three or four particulars.

1. GOD had before both vindicated himself, and excused Abel, from having either of them given the least reason for this violent and unjust proceeding: GOD had indeed accepted Abel's offering beyond Cain's; but that was owing to Abel's being better than Cain's, and not to any partiality in GOD; for if Cain would have been as deserving, he should have been as well accepted. *If thou dost well*, said GOD

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but the account of their births, Gen. iv. 1, 2, contradicts this notion. Others have supposed, (see Selden de Jure Naturali et Gentium, lib. v. c. viii.) that Eve at each of their births brought forth a daughter, and that Cain married the daughter born with Abel, and Abel the daughter born with Cain: but the trifling conceits of this sort that might be mentioned are innumerable.

to him,[d] *shalt thou not?* i. e. thou shalt *be accepted; but if thou doest not well,*[e] *sin lieth at the door.* And as to Abel, he had not affected to slight Cain, or to set himself above him; Abel would always have been heartily disposed to pay him all respect; and Cain might have had all the superiority of an elder brother; for so GOD argued with him,[f] *unto thee shall be his desire*, or will be, *and thou shalt rule over him*, i. e. thou mayest be his superior.

The expositors seem to treat this as a very difficult passage, and there are several very wild and foreign senses put upon the words, *unto thee shall be his desire.* The true meaning of them is clear and easy, if we consider that there are two expressions in the Hebrew tongue to signify the readiness of one person to serve or respect another. The one of them expresses an outward attendance, the other the inward temper or readiness of mind to pay respect or honour. עין אל־יד *aine el yad*, or, our eyes are to his hand, is the one expression. תשוקה אל *teshukah el*, or, our desire is to him, is the other. Of the former we have an instance, Psalm cxxxiii. *The eyes of servants are to the hand of their masters, and the eyes of a maiden are to the hand of her mistress*, i. e. they stand ready with a vigilant observance to execute their orders. We meet the other expression in the place before us, in Gen. iii. 16, and it imports an inward

[d] Gen. iv. 7. [e] Dr. Lightfoot renders the word *chataah* here, a *sin-offering*, as if GOD had reprehended Cain for not making a due atonement for his sins. See hereafter in B. ii. [f] Gen. iv. 7.

temper and disposition of mind to pay respect and honour. *His desire will be unto thee*, i. e. he will be heartily devoted (as we say in English) to honour and respect you, and *thou shalt*, or mayest, *rule over him*, i. e. you may have any service from him you can desire.

I have had an interpretation of this 7th verse communicated to me by a person of very great learning, and I find the [g] critics favour it. He thought the whole verse was spoke of Cain's sin, that the Hebrew words might be translated as I have interlined them * below,[h] and that it might be Englished thus, *If thou dost well, shalt thou not be accepted? but if thou dost not well sin lieth at the door: indeed the appetite of it*, i. e. of sin, *will be at thee*, i. e. to tempt thee, *but thou shouldst rule over it*. But the words will, I think, in no wise bear this sense, תשוקתו *teshukato*, is not the desire or appetite of *it*, but of *him*. And בו *bo*, does not signify *it*, but *him*. And the expression אליך תשוקתו *eleka teshukato*, is the Hebrew expression for, He will heartily respect thee, and not for, Sin will tempt thee.

2. After Cain had been so wicked as to kill his brother, God was pleased to pass a very just sentence upon him: his aim was to have made himself great and flourishing, in favour with God, and credit with men, without any one to stand in competition with

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[g] See Synop. Critic. in loc.

* Eum gubernares tu sed appetitus ejus quidem te apud.

[h] ואליך תשוקתו ואתה תמשל בו

him; but he was disappointed in every particular he aimed at, for his attempting to compass his designs so wickedly; the ground was sentenced not *to yield him her strength*,[l] i. e. he was to be unprosperous in his husbandry and tillage; and, instead of being in GOD's favour without rival, he was henceforwards,[k] *to be hid from his face*, i. e. he was not to have any longer that happy converse with the Deity, which these first ages of the world were blessed with; and he was to be [l] *a fugitive and a vagabond*, so far from being able to live amongst his friends with credit and satisfaction, that the sense of what he had done should so [m] hurry him, as to force him to retire from them to a distant part of the world, as a mischievous person not fit to live and be endured amongst them.

3. Cain had, in a little time, a full conviction of his folly and wickedness. He repeats over [n] GOD's sentence against himself, as acknowledging the justice of it, and withal, thought so ill of himself, and had so true a sense of his crime, as to imagine,[o] *that every one that happened on him would kill him*, that mankind would rise against him, as a person not fit to be suffered to live, and in their own defence destroy him. A sense of these things moved him to a great compunction: *Is my sin*, cried he, *too great to be forgiven?* for this is the true sense of ver. 13. We translate

[l] Gen. iv. 11, 12.

[l] Gen. iv. 12.

[k] Ver. 14.

[m] The Hebrew words express an unsettledness of mind, which probably induced the LXX. to translate them στενων και τρεμων.

[n] Ver. 14.

[o] Ibid.

the words, *my punishment is greater than I can bear;* but the Hebrew word עון [p] *aven*, signifies iniquity rather than punishment, and the verb נשא *nasha* signifies to be forgiven, as well as to bear; and the verse may be rendered either positively, *my iniquity is too great to be forgiven*, or the [q] Hebrew expositors take it by way of interrogation, *is my iniquity too great to be forgiven?* And this last sense is the best; for,

Upon Cain's being brought to a sorrow for his sin, GOD was pleased, in some measure, to pardon his transgression. There was as yet no express law against murder, and GOD [r] gave a strict charge, that no one should for this fact destroy Cain. Some writers [s] make this an addition to his punishment, but I see no reason for their opinion. As MOSES has represented this affair, it appears, that Cain was very sorry for what he had done, and acknowledged the just sentence of GOD against him; but represented that he should be in continual danger of a still further evil; namely, that it should come to pass, that every one that should find him, or happen on him, should kill him; hereupon he bewailed the wretched state he had brought himself into, and cried, *is my sin too great to be forgiven?* Can I find no mercy? No mitigation of the punishment I have brought upon myself?

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[p] See the word so used 1 Sam. xx. 8, and in other places of Scripture so used very often, particularly Job xi. 6.

[q] See Fagius in loco. [r] Gen. iv. 15.

[s] Fagius, Menochius, Tirnius, and other expositors, give the place this sense.

Hereupon GOD was pleased so far to favour him, as to give orders, that no one should kill him, and to make him easy by giving him assurance of it. For so the words, verse 15, which we render, *God set a mark upon Cain*, should be interpreted. The Hebrew word אות *aoth*, is a sign or token. The bow, Gen. ix. was to be לאות *leaoth*, for a sign or token that the world should be no more destroyed by water. So here the expression, וישם יהוה לקין אות *vejashem Jehovah lecain Aoth*, is not as we render it, *And God set a mark upon Cain*, but GOD gave or appointed a sign or token, *i. e.* to assure him, that no one should kill him. And here I might observe, that there is no foundation in the original, for the guesses and conjectures about the mark set upon Cain; about which so many writers have egregiously trifled.[t]

[t] The ridiculous conjectures upon this point have been almost without number. Some imagine that GOD imprest a letter on his forehead; and others have been so curious in their inquiries as to pretend to tell what the letter was: a letter of the word Abel, say some; the four letters of Jehovah, say others; or a letter expressing his repentance, say a third sort of writers. There have been some that imagined that Abel's dog was appointed to go with him wherever he went, to warn people not to kill him; but this does not come up to the humour of a mark set *on* Cain, and therefore other writers rather think his face and forehead were leprous; others, that his mark was a wild aspect, and terrible rolling eyes; others say, he was subject to a terrible trembling, so as to be scarcely able to get his food to his mouth,

After this, Cain removed with his wife and children from the place where he had before lived, and travelled into[u] the land of Nod; here he settled, and as his family increased, took care to have their dwellings built near to one another, and so made a little town or city, which he called Enoch,[x] from a son he had of that name. Here his descendants flourished till the Flood; they were the mechanics and tradesmen of the age they lived in. The sons of Lamech, who was the fifth in descent from Cain, were the chief artificers of their time. Lamech[y] had two wives, Adah and Zillah; by Adah he had two sons, Jabal and Jubal.[z] Jabal invented tents, and gathered together herds of cattle;[a] Jubal found out music. By Zillah he had a son named Tubal Cain,[b] who invented the working of brass and iron; and a daughter called Naamah. Moses only mentions her name; the Rabbins[c] say, she was the inventor of spinning. The descendants of Cain lived a long time in some fear of the family of Adam, lest they should attempt

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a notion taken from the LXX. who translate fugitive and vagabond, στενων και τρεμων. And there are some writers that have improved this conceit, by adding, that wherever he went the earth trembled and shook round about him. But there is another notion of Cain's mark, as good as any of the rest, namely, that he had a horn fixed on his forehead, to teach all men to avoid him.

[u] Gen. iv. 16. [x] Ver. 17.
[y] Ver. 19. [z] Ver. 20.
[a] Ver. 21. [b] Ver. 22.
[c] See Genebrard in Chron. & Lyra.

to revenge upon them Abel's death. It is supposed,[4] that it was for this reason that Cain built a city, that his children might live near together, and be able more easily to join and unite for the common safety. Lamech endeavoured to reason them out of these fears, and therefore calling his family together, he argued with them to this purpose:—"Why should we make our lives uneasy with these groundless suspicions? what have we done, that we should be afraid of? We have not killed a man, nor offered any injury to our brethren of the other family; and surely reason must teach them, that they can have no right to hurt us. Cain indeed, our ancestor, killed Abel, but GOD was so far pleased to forgive his sin, as to threaten to take seven-fold vengeance on any one that should kill him; if so, surely they must expect a much greater punishment, who shall presume to kill any of us: if Cain shall be avenged seven-fold, surely Lamech, or any of his innocent family, seventy-seven fold." This I take to be the meaning of the speech of Lamech to his wives, Gen. iv. 23. Moses has introduced it, without any connection with what went before, or follows after, so that at first sight it is not easy to know what to apply it to; the expression itself is but dark, and the expositors have attempted to explain it very imperfectly. The Rabbins tell a traditional story, which they say, will lead us to the meaning of it; they inform us, that "Lamech being blind, took his son Tubal Cain to hunt with him in the woods, where they happened on Cain, who used to lurk up and

[4] Menochius in loc.

down in the thickets, afraid of the converse and ciety of men; that the lad mistook him for some l stirring in the bushes, and that Lamech by the d tion of Tubal Cain, with a dart or arrow killed h this, they say, was the man he killed *by his woun him*. Afterwards, when he came to see what he done, he beat Tubal Cain to death for misinfor him, and so killed a young man, by hurting or bea him." But this unsupported old story is too id need a confutation. The most probable sense of words is, I think, that which I have given them in paraphrase above. *I have slain a man*, shoul read interrogatively, *have I slain a man?* i. e. I l not slain a man, *to my wounding*, i. e. that I sh be wounded for it, *nor a young man to my hurt;* nor have I killed a young man that I should be or punished for it. And this is the sense whicl Targum of Onkelos most excellently gives the pl "I have not killed a man," says Onkelos, "th should bear the sin of it, nor have I destroyed a yo man, that my offspring should be cut off for it;" the words of the next verse agree to this sense so actly, *there will be a seven-fold vengeance paid killing Cain, surely then a seventy times seven killing Lamech*, that I wonder how Onkelos sh mistake the true meaning of them, when he ha justly expressed the sense of the other.

Adam, soon after Cain's leaving him, had a s whom he called Seth; what other children he had are not certain;[f] we are told he had several, l

[e] Gen. iv. 25. [f] Chap. v. 4.

sons and daughters, probably a number of both, suitable to the many years of his life, and to the increase necessary to people the world. Moses has given us only the genealogy from Seth to Noah. The children of Seth lived separate from the rest of mankind,[g] they lived a pastoral life, dedicated themselves to the service of GOD, and in a little time, in the days of Enos, the sons of Seth were distinguished by the name of[h] the sons of GOD. It is uncertain how long the children of this family were so eminent for their virtue; Enos, one of them, was a person of a distinguished character, and the integrity of his life obtained him a passage into a better world[i] without dying. It is probable that all the persons mentioned by Moses from Seth to Noah, lived up to their duties, for the Flood was, as it were, deferred, until they were safe out of the world. In the days of Noah there was a general impiety. The[k] sons of GOD married the daughters of men; the children of Seth took wives out of the other families, and an *evil communication corrupted their manners*. The wickedness of the world

[g] Joseph. Antiq. lib. i. cap. 2.

[h] Gen. iv. 26.

[i] We might perhaps be inclined by some of the versions to think that Enoch died a natural death, and that his translation here mentioned, was only such a translation as is spoken of, Wisd. iv. 10, 11. But the writer of the Book of the Hebrews takes it very clearly in another sense, Heb. xi. 5. *By faith Enoch was translated, that he should not see death.*

[k] Gen. vi. 2.

grew to such a heighth, that it pleased GOD to determine to destroy it. Noah was a just and upright man, and he found[l] favour with GOD. GOD discovered to him, that he intended to destroy the inhabitants of the world by a flood[m] about a hundred and twenty years before-hand, and instructed him how to save himself and family, and a few creatures of every sort from the deluge.

Noah hereupon, according to GOD's directions, built an ark, about[n] six hundred feet long, a hundred feet wide, and sixty feet deep, contrived into three

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[l] Ver. 8.

[m] I suppose GOD determined that mankind should be still continued one hundred and twenty years, ver. 3. about the time that he communicated his intentions of a flood to Noah.

[n] The Hebrews made use of three sorts of cubits, 1. The common cubit, which was about one foot and half of our measure. 2. The sacred cubit, which was a hand's breadth more than the common cubit. 3. The geometrical cubit, which was about nine feet. The reader, if he consults Buteo's treatise about the ark, or reads what Pool has collected Syn. Critic. in loc. may be satisfied that the ark is to be measured by the common cubit. The standard of a common cubit was that part of a man's arm, which reaches from the bent of the elbow to the point of the middle finger. If we think the stature of mankind in Moses's time larger than it now is, we may suppose the common cubit something larger than we should now compute it: if not, the strict measure of the ark will be, length, four hundred and fifty feet; breadth, seventy-five; heighth, forty-five; and the best wri-

stories, into this ark he gathered such[o] a number of the creatures as GOD appointed him, and having prepared sufficient provision, he and his wife, and their three sons and their wives, went into the ark in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, about the[p] beginning of our November, according to the Hebrew computation, Anno Mundi 1656, and GOD caused a flood of water over all the world, thirty feet higher than the highest mountains, and thereby destroyed the inhabitants of it.

This is all the history which Moses has given us of the Antideluvian world. We have short hints of those times in the remains of some heathen writers,

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ters generally agree, that the common stature of mankind has always been much the same that it now is.

[o] The number of creatures taken into the ark is very ingeniously conjectured by Butæo and Bishop Wilkins, and the substance of what both have said upon the subject is set down in Pool's Syn. Crit. Vide Pool in loc.

[p] The second Hebrew month, before the children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt, was Marchesvan, which begins about the middle of our October, and ends about the middle of our November. After that deliverance, the beginning of the year was altered, and Nisan made the first month; but this alteration of the year was observed by the Jews, only in calculating their fasts and feasts, and ecclesiastical computations, and it is not likely that the Book of Genesis contains any computation of this latter sort; so the seventeenth day of the second month, Gen. vii. 11. the day on which the Flood began, is the seventeenth of Marchesvan, *f. e.* first or second of our November. Mr. Whiston says, November the twenty-eighth, Theory, p. 142.

and if we make allowance for the fables, which heathen theology had introduced into all parts of t early history, the substance of what they offer ag very remarkably with the accounts of Moses. B sus wrote the history of the Chaldeans; Sanchoni of the Phœnicians; and the antiquities of Egypt collected by Manetho, the Egyptian. It may no amiss to examine the remains of these writers, in o to see what their accounts are of the first ages of world.

I. As to the history of Berosus, the substance as it is given us from Abidenus Appollodorus, Alexander Polyhister,[q] is to this purpose, that t were ten kings of Chaldea before the Flood, Alo Alasparus, Amelon, Amenon, Metalarus, Dao Aedorachus, Amphis, Oliartes, Xisuthrus. T Xisuthrus was warned in a dream that mankind to be destroyed by a Flood on the 15th day of month Dæsius, and that he should build a sort of s and go into it with his friends and kindred, and he should make a provision of meat and drink, take into his vessel fowls and four-footed beasts; Xisuthrus acted according to the admonition; bu ship, and put into it all that he was commanded, went into it with his wife and children, and dea friends. When the flood was come, and begar abate, Xisuthrus let out some birds, which finding food nor place to rest on, returned to the ship ag after some days, he let out the birds again, but t came back with their legs daubed with mud. S

[q] Vid. Euseb. Chron.

days after, he let them go the third time, but then they came to the ship no more. Xisuthrus understood hereby, that the earth appeared again above the waters, and taking down some of the boards of the ship, he saw that it rested upon a mountain; some time after, he, and his wife and his pilot went out of the ship, to offer sacrifice to the gods, and they were never seen by those in the ship more. But the persons in the ship, after seeking him in vain, went to Babylon. The Xisuthrus here mentioned was evidently Noah. And Berosus supposes from Alorus to Xisuthrus ten generations, and so many Moses computes from Adam to Noah.

II. The history of Sanchoniatho is to this effect.[r] That the first mortals were Protogonus and Æon; that by these were begotten Genus and Genea; the children of these were Phos, Pur, and Phlox; and of these were begot Cassius, Libanus, Antilibanus, and Brathys. Memrumus and Hypsuranius were descended from these, and their children were Agreus and Halieus; and of these were begotten two brothers, one of them named Chrysor and Hæphæstus; the name of the other is lost. From this generation came two brothers, Technites and Autochthon, and of them were begotten Agrus and Agrotes; Amynus and Magus were their children, and Misor and Sydec were descended of Amynus and Magus. The son of Misor was Taautus or Tyoth. This is the Phœnician genealogy of the first ages of the world, and it requires no great pains to show how far it agrees with the accounts

[r] In Euseb. Præp. Evang.

of Moses. The first mortals mentioned by Sanchoniatho, and called Protogonus and Æon, were undoubtedly Adam and Eve; and his Misor, the father of Taautus, is evidently the Mizraim of Moses. From Protogonus to Misor, Sanchoniatho computes eleven generations, and from Adam to Mizraim, Moses makes twelve; so that Sanchoniatho falls short of Moses only one generation, and this, I conceive, happened by his not having recorded the Flood.

But thirdly, let us, in the next place, consider the Egyptian Antiquities, as collected by Manetho; and here, I must confess, we meet with great difficulties. The records of most nations fall short of the Flood; neither Chaldea nor Phœnicia have offered any thing that can seem to be before Moses's time of the Creation; but Manetho pretends to produce antiquities of Egypt, that reach higher than the Creation by thousands of years. [s]

The accounts of Manetho seem at first sight so extravagant, that many [t] good writers look upon them as mere fictions, and omit attempting to say any thing about them; but other learned men [u] are not so well satisfied with this proceeding, but think that by a due examination the Egyptian dynasties may be made

[s] Scaliger supposes his Julian period to begin above seven hundred years before the world, but imagined the Egyptian dynasties to reach higher than the beginning of that period by above seven thousand years. See Can. Isag. lib. ii. p. 123.

[t] Petav. Doctrin. Temp. l. 10, c. 17.

[u] Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 1.

tolerably clear, and reduced at least to a degree of probability. The misfortune is, we have none of the original works, from whence they were collected, or which gave account of them. The historians, Diodorus Siculus, and Herodotus, did not examine these matters to the bottom, and we have no remains of the old Egyptian Chronicon, or of the works of Manetho, except only some quotations in the works of other writers. The Chronographia of Syncellus, written by one George, an abbot of the monastery of St. Simeon, and called Syncellus, as being Suffragan to Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, is the only work we have to go to for these antiquities. Syncellus collected the quotations of the old Chronicon, and of Manetho, and of Eratosthenes, as he found them in the works of Africanus and Eusebius; and the works of Africanus and Eusebius being now lost, (for it is well known that the work which goes under the name of Eusebius's Chronicon is a composition of Scaliger's,) we have nothing to be depended upon, but what we find in Syncellus above-mentioned.

Our learned countryman, Sir John Marsham, has collected from Syncellus the opinions of these writers; and it must appear to any one who considers what he has offered from them,[x] that they every one in their turn took great liberties in correcting and altering, what they pretended to copy from one another; and though every one of them took a different scheme, yet not one of them could give a clear and consistent account of the Egyptian dynasties. Sir John Mar-

[x] Marsham Can. Προκατασκευη.

sham comes the nearest to it of any; the account he gives from Menes downward, is exceedingly probable, being consistent with the histories of other nations; and he has given some hints which may, I think, lead to a very good explication of those dynasties which preceded Menes.

The Egyptian dynasties are by all that have treated of them, allowed to give an account, first of their gods; secondly, of their demi-gods and heroes; thirdly, of their kings; and in this order the historians agree to treat of the Egyptian antiquities.[y] From Menes downward the account is clear, if we take it as Sir John Marsham has explained it. The number of kings are too many, if supposed to succeed one another, as Manetho imagined; but if we suppose them to be contemporaries, as Sir John Marsham has represented them, the accounts of Egypt from Menes or Mizraim, will be easy, and will agree very well with the accounts we have of other nations. Africanus, with good[z] reason, imagined all that is prior to or before Menes to be antideluvian; some broken reports of what was the state of Egypt before the Flood. Let us, therefore, consider the antiquities of Egypt in this view, and trace them backwards. The kings, the first of whom was Menes, reigned after the Flood. Who were the demi-gods and heroes that preceded them? how many were they? and how long did they reign? In the next place we must enquire who were the gods of Egypt, and what are their reigns? and perhaps such a thread of enquiry as this may help

[y] See Diodorus, l. 1.

[z] Syncellus, p. 54.

as through the difficulties of the Egyptian antiquities.

The substance of the Egyptian accounts is, that there were thirty dynasties in Egypt, consisting of one hundred and thirteen generations, and which took up the space of thirty-six thousand five hundred and twenty-five years. That after this period was run, then there reigned eight demi-gods in the space of two hundred and seventeen years. After them succeeded the Cycli Cynici, i. e. according to Manetho,[a] a race of heroes, in number fifteen, and their reigns took up four hundred and forty-three years; then began the reigns of their kings, the first of whom was Menes.

Menes, therefore, by Syncellus called Mestraim, being the Mizraim of Moses, the eight demi-gods and fifteen heroes that reigned in Egypt before him, were, as Manetho rightly conjectures, antideluvians; and we have to enquire how their reigns took up two hundred and seventeen, and four hundred and forty-three, in all six hundred and sixty years.

Now, in order to explain what is meant by the number of years in these reigns, I would observe, that perhaps Egypt was peopled no more than six hundred and sixty years before the Flood; which may be true, though we suppose an elder son of Adam to have brought a colony thither. Seth was born in the one hundred and thirtieth year of Adam's life, and Seth lived until within six hundred and fourteen years of the Flood; and therefore a son of Adam, but a century

[a] Syncellus, p. 40.

younger than Seth (and Adam lived eight hundred years after the birth of Seth, and begat sons and daughters) might plant Egypt, and live one hundred and fifty years at the head of his plantation; or if we suppose it first planted by some children of Adam, two or three centuries younger, they might come to Egypt in the flower of their days.

It must, indeed, be allowed, that the eight demi-gods, and the fifteen heroes, cannot be a series of kings succeeding one another; for seven generations in such a succession, would take up very near the number of years allotted to all of them, as may be seen by looking into the lives of Adam's descendants, set down by Moses. If we begin forty-six years before the death of Seth, we may see that Enos lived ninety-eight years after Seth, Cainan ninety-five years after Enos, Mahalaleel fifty-five years after Cainan, Jared one hundred and thirty-two years after Mahalaleel, Enoch was translated before his father's death; Methuselah died two hundred and thirty-four years after Jared, and in the year of the Flood, and Lamech died before Methuselah; the succession of these men, and there are but seven of them, and a short piece of Seth's life, took up six hundred and sixty years; and therefore if the lives of the other branches of Adam's family were of the same length with these, and it is probable they were, eight demi-gods and fifteen heroes (twenty-three persons) could not succeed one another in so few years. In this point, therefore, the Egyptian writers make great difficulties, by supposing these demi-gods and heroes to reign one after another, when it is impossible to find a good account of the times of

such successive reigns, or to bring the whole series of them within the compass of time allotted to them; but we may make this difficulty easy, if we suppose the eight demi-gods to be contemporaries, persons of great eminence and figure in the age they lived in, and the fifteen heroes, who lived after these demi-gods, contemporaries with one another; and I think their different titles, as well as what we find about them in the historians, lead us to this notion of them. If these persons were a successive number of kings, from the first of them to the Flood, why should eight of them be called demi-gods, and the rest but heroes? The superior appellation of the first eight, looks as if they stood upon an equal ground with one another, but something higher than those who came after them. And perhaps they were eight children of Adam, and he had certainly enough to spare many times eight to people the several parts of the world. These came together with their families into Egypt, lived all within the compass of two hundred and seventeen years; (which is an easy supposition) and being all the heads of the families that came with them, and were descended from them, they might be so revered by their posterity, as to have a title superior to what their descendants attained to. And it is observable that the historians who mention them, give them names very favourable to this account of them; the demi-gods, according to Diodorus,[b] were Sol, Saturnus, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcanus, Vesta, Mercurius; and these are the names of persons, not of different, but

[b] Lib. 1.

But to the first of their gods, called here Vulcan, they assign no time, his reign is unlimited. I suppose they meant hereby to intimate that the supreme God was eternal, his power infinite, his reign not confined to any one, or any number of ages, but extending itself through all: and such high notions the Egyptians certainly had of the supreme Deity, though they had also buried them in heaps of the grossest errors. This I take to be a true account of the Egyptian dynasties; and if it be so, their history is not so extravagant as has been imagined. The substance of what they offer is, that the supreme God is eternal,—to his reign they assign no time; that the sun, moon, and stars ran their courses thousands of years before man was upon the earth; into this notion they were led by their astronomy; that Egypt was peopled six hundred and sixty years before the Flood; and very probably it might not be peopled sooner, considering that mankind began in Chaldea, and that first the plantation went eastward with Cain, and that Seth and his family settled near home. Amongst these first inhabitants of Egypt there were eight demi-gods, and fifteen heroes, i. e. three and twenty persons illustrious and eminent in their generations. After the Flood reigned Menes, whom Moses called Mizraim, and after Mizraim, a succession of kings down to Nectanebus.

Manetho wrote his history by order of Ptolemy Philadelphus, some time after the Septuagint translation was made. When the Hebrew antiquities were published to the world, the Egyptians grew jealous of the honour of their nation, and were willing to shew that they could trace up their memoirs, even higher

reducing the antideluvian lives to our standard, is full of absurdities. The whole time of this first world would, at this rate, be less than 130 years. Methuselah himself would have been little more than eighty years old, not so long-lived as many even now are. The persons above-mentioned would have had children, when mere infants. Besides, if we compute the ages of those who lived after the Flood, by this way of reckoning, and we have no reason from the text to alter, they will not amount to the years of a man. Abraham for instance, who is said to have died in a good old age, an old man and full of years, was,[f] as Moses writes, 175 years old; but according to the notion of lunar years, he could not be fifteen.—The years, therefore, that Moses computed these men's lives by, were solar years, of much[g] the same length as we now compute by, and there must have been some reason in their state and constitution, and in the temperament of the world they lived in, to give them that exceeding length of days, which they were able to come up to. Their houses of clay could stand eight or nine hundred years; when, alas! those we now build of the hardest stone or marble scarcely last so long.

The curiosity of the learned in all ages, has been much employed in finding out the reasons of this longevity. Some writers have attributed it to the simplicity of their diet, and to the sobriety of their

[f] Gen. xxv. 7.

[g] Not exactly as long, for the ancients generally computed twelve months, of thirty days each, to be a year.

living; both of them, indeed, excellent means to support nature, and to make us able to attain our utmost period, but not sufficient to account for so vast a difference as there is between our and their term of life. We have had moderate and abstemious persons in latter ages, and yet they have very rarely exceeded one hundred years.

Other writers have imagined the length of these men's lives to have been owing to the strength of their stamina; they think that we are made of more corruptible materials, of a nature not so strong as these men were, and therefore cannot last so long as they did; but this cannot be the sole cause of their long lives, for, if it were, why should the sons of Noah, who had all the strength of an antediluvian constitution, fall so [h] far short of the age of their forefathers? This, and the manner of the decline of our lives, led a [i] very ingenious writer to imagine, that this alteration of the length of human life was in a great measure owing to a change of the temperament of the world; that the equality of the seasons, and evenness of weather, in the first earth, were, in a great measure, the cause of that length of life enjoyed by the inhabitants of it; and that the vast contrariety of seasons and weather, which we now have, is a great reason for the shortness of our days.

If we examine the proportion in which human life shortened, we shall find this longevity sunk half in half immediately after the Flood; and after that it

[h] Shem lived to but six hundred years.

[i] Dr. Burnet.

sunk by gentler degrees, but was still in motion and declension, until it fixed at length before David's time, Psal. xc. 10. [1] (called a Psalm of Moses) in that which has been the common standard of man's age ever since. And how strongly does this intimate that our decay was not owing to irregular living, or to a debility of nature only, but to our being, as I might say, removed into a different world? for we fared like some excellent fruit transplanted from its native soil into a worse ground and unkinder climate; it degenerates continually until it comes to such a degree of meanness as suits the air and soil it is removed into, and then it stands without any further depravity or alteration.

The antediluvians were placed according to the best and most philosophical notions we can form of the then world, under a constant serenity and equality of the heavens, in an earth so situated with regard to the sun, as to have a perpetual equinox, and an even temperature of the seasons, without any considerable variety or alteration; and hence it came to pass that the human body could, by the nourishment it is made capable of receiving, continue unimpaired to many generations, there being no external violence to cause decay in any part of its texture and constitution.

[1] Dr. Burnet seems to hint in this manner, that the length of our lives was reduced to seventy years about Moses' time; but Mr. Whiston observes, that most of the persons mentioned in Scripture, who lived to old age, far exceeded that standard, until about David's time. Chron. page 10.

But when men came to live in the world after the Flood, the world was much altered: the state of the earth and heavens was not the same they had before been, there were many changes of seasons, wet and dry, hot and cold, and these of course cause many fermentations in the blood and resolutions of the humours of the body; they weaken the fibres and organs of our frame, and by degrees unfit them for their respective functions. Noah had lived six hundred years in the first world, so that we may reasonably suppose he had contracted a firmness of constitution, to be able to weather out the inconveniences of the new world, and we find his life was not sensibly shortened by them; but his children came into this second world very young men, before their natures were fixed and hardened, and so they scarcely exceeded two thirds of what they might probably have otherwise lived to. The next generation, who began their lives in this disadvantageous state of things, fell a third part short of them. The change is not immediately sensible, but it stands with reason that the repeated impressions every year of unequal heat and cold, dryness and moisture, should by contracting and relaxing the fibres, bring in time their tone to a manifest debility, and cause a decay in the lesser springs of our bodies; and the lesser springs failing, the greater, which in some measure depend upon them, must in proportion fail also, and all the symptoms of decay and old age follow. We see by experience, that bodies are kept better in the same medium, as we call it, than if they often change their medium and be sometimes in air, sometimes in

water, moistened and dried, heated and cooled; these different states weaken the contexture of the parts; but this has been our condition in this present world, we are put into a hundred different mediums in the course of a year; sometimes we are steeped in water, or a misty foggy air for several days together, sometimes we are almost frozen with cold, then as it were melted with heat, and the winds are of a different nature, and the air of a different weight and pressure, according to the weather and seasons. And now all these things must contribute apace to our decline, must agitate the air in the little pores and chinks of our bodies very unequally, and thereby shake and unsettle our frame continually, must wear us very fast, and bring us to old age and decay in a short time, in comparison of what we might have lived to, if we lived as the antideluvians, we think, did, in a fixed course of nature, encompassed always in the same medium, breathing always an air of one and the same temper, suited exactly to their frame and constitution, and not likely to offer them any violence without, or raise any fermentation within.[1]

The number of persons in this first world must have been very great: if we think it uncertain, from the differences between the Hebrew and LXX in this particular, at what time of life they might have their first children, let us make the greatest allowance that is possible, and suppose that they had no children until they were one hundred years old, and none after five hundred, yet still the increase of this world must

[1] See Dr. Burnet's Theory, vol. i. b. ii. ch. ii, iii, iv.

have been prodigious. There are several authors, who have formed calculations of it, and they suppose upon a moderate computation that there were in this world at least two millions of millions of souls, which they think is a number far exceeding the inhabitants of the present earth.

It would be very entertaining, if we could have a view of the religion, politics, arts or sciences of this numerous people; but we can only make a few conjectures about them. As to their religion, it is certain, 1, that they had Adam for above nine hundred years to instruct them in all he knew of the creation of the world, and of the manner how he and Eve came into it; and though, I think, there is no reason to magnify Adam's knowledge, as some writers have done, yet it must surely be beyond all question, that the inhabitants of this first world were most sensibly convinced of GOD's being the creator of all things; they needed no deductions of reason, or much faith to lead them to this truth; they were almost eye-witnesses of it. Methuselah died but a little before the Flood, and lived two hundred and forty-five years with Adam; so that, though the world had stood above one thousand six hundred years at the deluge, yet the tradition of the creation had passed but through two hands. 2. They had a very remarkable promise made them by GOD in the judgment passed upon the serpent. *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between her seed and thy seed, He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* 3. GOD was more sensibly present in the world then, than he now is. He appeared to them by angels; he

caused them to hear voices, or to dream dreams; and by these, and such extraordinary ways and means he convinced them of their duties, instructed them in his will, and gave them directions for the conduct of their lives. And in this sense many good and virtuous men in this first world, and for several ages after the Flood, had the happiness to walk with GOD; to have an intercourse with the Deity, by divers extraordinary revelations of himself, which he was pleased to give them throughout their lifetime, if they took care to live up to their duties. If indeed any of them ran into evil courses of sin and wickedness, then they are said *to be hid from the face of the* LORD; or, GOD is said *to turn away his face from them*; or *to cast them away from his presence*: by all which expressions is meant, that from that time the intercourse between GOD and them ceased; and that GOD so far left them, as to give them none of those revelations and directions about his will and their conduct, which they might otherwise have had from him. And as this was the state of the first world, with regard to GOD's presence in it; so, fourthly, I believe, from hence was derived the religion of it, GOD himself teaching those persons with whom he was pleased to converse, what sacrifices he would have offered, what religious ceremonies they should use, and how they should order themselves in his worship. We do not meet any of GOD's express orders in these matters before the Flood, for the history is very short; after the Flood we have a great many. But the very nature of the worship that was in use, does sufficiently evi-

dence, that it came into use from divine appointment, and was not invented by the wit of man. Sacrifices were offered from the fall of Adam; Cain and Abel, we are sure, used them: and the method of worshipping by sacrifices does in no wise appear to be a human contrivance, invented by the natural light or common reason of men. If GOD had never appeared to the first men at all, reason alone, if rightly used, would have induced them to think that there was a GOD, and that they were obliged to live in his fear a virtuous life; and it might have led them to have prayed to him in their wants, and to have praised and adored him for his favours: but I cannot see upon what thread or train of thinking, they could possibly be led to make atonement for their sins, or acknowledgments for the divine favours, by the oblations or expiations of any sorts of sacrifice: it is much more reasonable to think that GOD himself appointed this worship. All nations in the world have used it. They who were so happy as to walk with GOD, were instructed in it from age to age: the rest of mankind, who had caused GOD to turn his face from them, and to leave them to themselves, continued the method of worship they had before learned, and so sacrificed; but they invented in time new rites and new sacrifices, according to their humours and fancies, and by degrees departed from the true worship, and at length from the true GOD.

We meet with several particulars about the religion of the antediluvians.

1. That they had stated annual and weekly sacrifices; that Cain and Abel, when they came to offer,

came to one of these solemn and public acts of worship. (These things may, perhaps, be true; but we have no certain evidence that they are so.) Aristotle is quoted to confirm this opinion, who says, that such stated sacrifices were from the beginning; but it should be considered, that the heathen records commonly fall vastly short of these times; and when Aristotle or any other such writer speaks of a thing as practised from the beginning, they can fairly be supposed to mean no more than that it was in use earlier than the times of which they had any history; which it might easily be, and at the same time be much more modern than the beginning of the world. Other writers would prove this opinion from some words of Scripture. *Mikkets jamim*, Gen. iv. ver. 3. signify, some say, *at the end of the week*, others say, *at the end of the year;* but these I think are precarious criticisms. The words, fairly construed, are no more than, at the end of days, or, as we render them, in process of time.

2. Some have thought that the first institution of public worship, was in the days of Enos the son of Seth; others, that not the public worship of GOD, but that idolatry or false worship took its rise at that time: both these opinions are founded upon the expression at the end of Gen. iv. *Then began men to call upon the name of the* LORD.

The defenders of the first opinion construe the Hebrew words in the following manner, *Then men began to invoke the name of the* LORD, i. e. to set up and join in public invocations of it; for as to private ones, they had without doubt used them from the

beginning. This interpretation is more easy and natural than that which follows it; לקרא בשם *likra be shem*, seems pretty well to answer our English expression, to call upon the name, or invoke it; but קרא *kara*, is a verb transitive, and קרא שם *kara shem*, might signify to invoke the name, but קרא בשם *kara be shem* has quite another meaning.

The authors of the second opinion, who would prove the rise of idolatry from these words, think the word החל *hachal*, not to signify *they began*, but *they profaned*. They make the sentence run thus; then they profaned in calling upon the name of the LORD. The verb חלל does indeed sometimes signify to profane, and sometimes to begin; but then it ought to be observed, that when it signifies to profane, it has always a noun following it; when an infinitive mood follows, as in the passage before us, it always signifies to begin. There are many passages of Scripture, which will justify this remark, Numb. xxx. 3, Ezek. xxxix. 7, are instances of the former sense. Gen. vi. 1. xli. 53. 2 Chron. iii. 1, and several other places are instances of the latter. And thus I think it may appear that both the opinions founded on this passage are groundless; they have both of them been espoused by great authors; and the latter, which is the more improbable of the two, is very much favoured by the paraphrase of Onkelos, by Maimonides' Treatise of Idolatry, by Selden, and several other learned men. But since I am fallen upon this passage, I shall add a few words more to give it its true meaning; and I think the Hebrew words verbally translated would be, *then it*

was began to call, i. e. them, *by the name of the* LORD, i. e. as I expressed it p. 12. They were then first called the sons of God. This is, I must think, the true meaning of this expression. קרא בשם *kara be shem*, signifies to call or nominate by or after the name; thus Gen. iv. 17. יקרא *yikra*, *he called* the name of the city בשם *be shem*, *by* or *after the name* of his son. Numb. xxxii. 42. יקרא *yikra*, *he called* it *nobah*, בשמו *be shemo*, *by* or *after his own name*. Psalm xlix. 11. קראו *kareau*, *they call* their lands, בשמותם *bishmotham*, *by* or *after their* own *names*. Isaiah xliii. 7. Every one that is הנקרא *hannikra*, *called* בשמי, *bishmi*, *by* my name. And the name here hinted is expressly given these men by Moses himself, when he afterwards speaks of them, Gen. vi, *the sons of God* saw the daughters of men:——but to return to the antediluvians.

As we can only form some few and very general conjectures about their religion, so we can only guess at the progress they might make in literature or any of the arts. The enterprising genius of man began to exert itself very early in music, brass-work, iron-work, in every artifice and science useful or entertaining; and the undertakers were not limited by a short life, they had time enough before them to carry things to perfection; but whatever their skill, learning or industry performed, all remains or monuments of it are long ago perished. We meet in several authors hints of some writings of Enoch, and of pillars supposed to have been inscribed by Seth, and the epistle

of St. Jude [m] seems to cite a passage from Enoch; but the notion of Enoch's leaving any work behind him has been so little credited, that some persons, not considering [n] that there are many things alluded to in the New Testament, which were perhaps never recorded in any books, have gone too far, and [o] imagined the epistle of St. Jude to be spurious, for its seeming to have a quotation from this figment.

There is a piece pretending to be this work of Enoch, and [p] Scaliger, in his annotations upon Eusebius' Chronicon, has given us considerable

[m] Jude ver. 14.

[n] There are many instances in the New Testament of facts alluded to, which we do not find ever recorded in any ancient books. Thus the contest between Michael and the Devil about the body of Moses is mentioned, as if the Jews had, somewhere or other, a full account of it. The names of the Egyptian magicians, Jannes and Jambres, are set down, though they are no where found in Moses' history. St. Paul mentions that Moses exceedingly quaked and feared on mount Sinai; but we do not find it so recorded any where in the old Testament. In all cases, the apostles and holy writers hinted at things commonly received as true by tradition amongst the Jews, without transcribing them from any real books.

[o] Enochi commentitia oracula ita sprevit cordatior antiquitas, uti Hieronymus Judæ epistolam, quæ de septem Catholicis una est, ob hanc causam a plerisque a catalogo Sacrorum Voluminum dicat expunctam, quia Testimonium ibi citatur ex hoc futili scripto. Cunæus de rep. Heb. l. 2. c. i. p. 268.

[p] P. 401.

fragments, if not the whole of it. It was vastly admired by [q] Tertullian, and some other fathers; but it has since their time been proved to be the product of some impostor who made it, according to Scaliger, Vossius, Gale, and Kircher, some time between the captivity and our Saviour's birth; but there are, I think, [r] good reasons not to believe it even so old.

As to Seth's pillars, [s] Josephus gives the following account of them. "That Seth and his descendants were persons of happy tempers, and lived in peace, employing themselves in the study of astronomy, and in other researches after useful knowledge; that, in order to preserve the knowledge they had acquired, and to convey it to posterity, having heard from Adam of the Flood, and of a destruction of the world by fire which was to follow it, they made two pillars, the one of stone, the other of brick, and inscribed their knowledge upon them, supposing that one or the other of them might remain for the use of posterity. The stone pillar, (says he) on which is inscribed, that there was one of brick made also, is still remaining in the land of Seriad to this day." Thus far Josephus: but whether his account of this pillar may be admitted, has been variously controverted; we are now not only at a loss about the pillar, but we cannot so much as find the place where

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[q] De habitu mulierum, c. iii.

[r] See Jurieu Crit. Hist. vol. i. p. 41.

[s] Antiq. lib. i. c. ii. p. 9.

it is said to have stood.[t] Some have thought this land of Seriad to be the land of Seirah, mentioned Judges iii. 26, and that the quarries, as we render it, or the *pesilim*, as it is in the Hebrew, might be the ruinous stones of which this pillar of Seth was formerly made.[u] Other writers think the word *pesilim* to signify idols, and that the stones here mentioned were Eglon's idols, lately set up there.[x] Bishop Stillingfleet, if the word *pesilim* can signify pillars, approves of Junius's interpretation of the place, and thinks the stones here spoken of were the twelve stones pitched by Joshua in Gilgal, after the children of Israel passed over Jordan; but surely this interpretation is improbable, the stones pitched in Gilgal by Joshua would have been called as they were when they were pitched, *ha abenim*, from *aben*, a stone; or else the remembrance of the fact to be supported by them would be lost. The design of heaping them was, that when posterity should enquire what mean *ha abenim*, these stones, they might be told how the waters of Jordan were cut off. It is unlikely that the writer of the book of Judges should alter the name of so remarkable a monument.

But it is more easy to guess where Josephus had his story of Seth's pillars, than to tell in what country they ever stood; there is a passage quoted from

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[t] Vossius de Ætat. Mund. c. x. et Marsham Can. Chronic. p. 39.

[u] Chytræus et alii.

[x] Origines sacræ B. i. c. ii. p. 37.

Manetho, the Egyptian historian, which very probably was the foundation of all that Josephus has said about them. Eusebius[y] has given us the words of Manetho; for, relating what he asserted to establish the credit of his Egyptian dynasties, he says, that he pretended to have taken them "from some pillars in the land of Seriad, inscribed in the sacred dialect by the first mercury Thyoth, and after the Flood translated out of the sacred dialect into the Greek tongue in sacred characters, and laid up amongst the revesteries of the Egyptian temples by Agathodæmon the second mercury, father of Tat." Josephus very often quotes heathen writers, and Manetho in particular; and it is probable, that upon reading this account of pillars in that historian, he might think it misapplied. The Jews had an old tradition of Seth's pillars: Josephus perhaps imagined Manetho's account to have arisen from it, and that he should probably hit the truth if he put the history of the one and the tradition of the other together; and it is likely that hence arose all he has given us upon this subject.

It may perhaps be inquired, what the wickedness was, for which GOD destroyed the first world. Some writers have imagined it to have been an excess of idolatry; others think idolatry was not practised until after the Flood; and indeed the Scripture mentions no idolatry in these times; but describes the antediluvian wicked-

[y] In Chron.

ness to have been a general neglect of virtue, and pursuit of evil.[r] *The wickedness of man was great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually.* There is one particular taken notice of by Moses,[s] *the earth*, he says, *was filled with violence.* This expression, and the severe law made against murder soon after the Flood, makes it probable that the men of this first world had taken a great licence in usurping upon the lives of one another.

There should be something said, before I conclude this book, of the chronology and geography of this first world. As to the chronology, several of the transactions in it are not reduced to any fixed time. We are not told when Cain and Abel were born; in what year Abel was killed, or Cain left his parents; when the city of Enoch was built; or at what particular time the descendants of Cain's family were born. Moses has given us a chronology of only one branch of Seth's family. He has set down the several descendants from Adam to Noah, with an account of the time of their birth, and term of life; so that if there was not a variety in the different copies of the Bible, it would be easy to fix the year of their deaths, and of the Flood, and to determine the time of the continuance of this first world.

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[r] Gen. vi. 5. [s] Ver. 13.

But first of all, according to our Hebrew Bibles, the computations of Moses are given us as set down in the following table :

	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth, Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam.....	1	130	800	930	930
Seth.....	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos.....	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan.....	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel..	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared.....	460	162	800	962	1422
Enoch.....	622	65	300	365	987
Methuselah..	687	187	782	969	1656
Lamech....	874	182	595	777	1651
Noah.....	1056	500	....	....	....

According to the foregoing table, the Flood, which began in the six hundredth year of Noah, who was

born anno Mundi 1056, happened anno Mundi 1656; it continued about a year, and so ended 1657

But secondly, the Samaritan copies give us these computations something different; according to them,

	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth, Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam.....	1	130	800	930	930
Seth.....	130	105	807	912	1042
Enos.....	235	90	815	905	1140
Cainan.....	325	70	840	910	1235
Mahalaleel..	395	65	830	895	1290
Jared.....	460	62	785	847	1307
Enoch.....	522	65	300	365	887
Methuselah..	587	67	653	720	1307
Lamech.....	654	53	600	653	1307
Noah.....	707	500			

The reader will easily see the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan computations, by comparing

the two tables with one another.[a] Capellus makes a difficulty in reconciling them; but it is not such a hard matter, if we consider what[b] St. Jerom informs us of, that there were Samaritan copies which make Methuselah one hundred and eighty-seven years old at the birth of Lamech, and Lamech one hundred and eighty-two at the birth of Noah. Now, if this be true, it is easy to suppose sixty-two, the age of Jared at the birth of Enoch, to be a mistake of the transcriber, who might drop a letter, and write sixty-two, instead of one hundred and sixty-two; and thus all the difference between the Hebrew and Samaritan copies will entirely vanish. Capellus is not satisfied with this account of St. Jerom's, but observes that[c] Morinus assures us, that the Samaritan MS. Pentateuch agrees exactly with the calculations given by Eusebius, according to which the foregoing table is composed; but to this it may be answered, that the[d] MS. which Morinus saw, is not older than the beginning of the fifteenth century; it was, he says himself, written in the year of our Lord 1404; and surely it must be very precarious to contradict what St. Jerom has asserted in this matter, from so modern a transcript.

The writers, who have given us the Samaritan chro-

[a] Tract de Chronol. sacr. in Prolegom. Bib. Polyglot. Walton.

[b] In Quæst. in Genes.

[c] Joan Morinus in Præfat. Græco-Lat. Translationis LXX. Parisiis. edit. 1618.

[d] See Harduin's Chronol. Vet. Test. p. 6.

nology, do, in some respects, differ from the fore going table; but their differences are of less momen and may easily be corrected.

1. [e] Eusebius sets the birth of Methuselah in tl sixtieth year of Enoch; but this is manifestly an err either of the printer or transcriber, who wrote ξ i stead of ξε; the mistake was certainly not Eusebius' because he immediately adds, μετετεθη εν ετει ϙξ· Νωε, *i. e.* he was translated in the one hundred an eightieth year of Noah. Now, if Enoch was sixt years old at Methuselah's birth, according to Eus bius himself; from Methuselah's birth to the one hun dred and eightieth year of Noah, is but three hun dred years, and consequently Eusebius, to have be consistent with himself, should have made Enoch age at his translation three hundred and sixty, but h has made it three hundred and sixty-five. But fa ther,[f] Syncellus from Eusebius says, that the Sam ritan computation falls short of the Hebrew thr hundred and forty-nine years; but, if in the life Enoch sixty and three hundred and sixty are the tr numbers, instead of sixty-five and three hundred an sixty-five, the reader, if he computes, will find th Samaritan calculations fall short of the Hebrew mo than three hundred and forty-nine years, namel three hundred and fifty-four. Once more, the Sam ritan computations, as cited by Scaliger,[g] have in th

[e] Chronicon. p. 4.

[f] Vid. Capelli Chronol. sacr.

[g] Id. ibid.

place sixty-five, not sixty; and one hundred and sixty-five, not one hundred and sixty.

There are several other mistakes made, probably in printing Eusebius's Chronicon;[i] namely, that Cainan lived to the φκα *i. e.* the 521st year of Noah, it should have been φκη, five hundred and twenty-eight. And Mahalaleel to the φπε, *i. e.* the five hundred and eighty-fifth year of Noah, it should have been φπγ, *i. e.* five hundred and eighty-three, for otherwise Eusebius contradicts himself; for if a table were made from Eusebius's computations, it would appear that Cainan died A. M. 1235, and that would be the five hundred and twenty-eighth year of Noah, not the five hundred and twenty-first: and so likewise Mahalaleel's death would be A. M. 1290, which, according to Eusebius, would be the five hundred and eighty-third year of Noah, not the five hundred and eighty-fifth.

2. The Samaritan Chronology, as given us by Scaliger[k], differs a little from Eusebius's account of it; for, where Eusebius says that Mahalaleel was ξε, *i. e.* sixty-five years old, when he begat Jared; Scaliger thinks it should be οε, *i. e.* seventy-five. Again, where Eusebius makes Methuselah's age ξζ, *i. e.* sixty-seven at Lamech's birth, Scaliger would have it be οζ, *i. e.* seventy-seven. By these alterations he computes twenty years longer to the Flood than the received Samaritan copies. Scaliger does, indeed,[k]

[i] Id. ibid.

[k] Id ibid.

[i] See Capellus, before cited.

produce an old Samaritan Chronicle, with a table at the end of it of the lives of the patriarchs, who lived from the Creation to Moses; in which he finds the variations from Eusebius, which he would establish. But first, he himself owns that this table contains some very great absurdities—a confession which takes away a great deal of its credit.—Secondly, The Samaritan Chronology is much more reconcileable to the Hebrew, as Eusebius has given it us, than it would be if these alterations of Scaliger's were made in it.—Thirdly, The Samaritan MS. agrees with Eusebius, but favours none of Scaliger's emendations, as is clear from Morinus's account of that MS. and was confirmed to Capellus, by some letters of Gollius to him.—Fourthly, If we alter Eusebius by this table of Scaliger's, we shall make Jared and Methuselah die A. M. 1317, *i. e.* ten years before the Flood; but all versions agree, the Hebrew, the Samaritan, and the Septuagint, however they differ about the year of the Flood, that Methuselah certainly died that year.

Thirdly, we come now to the Chronology of the Septuagint, which differs from the Hebrew in the following manner:

First, in the Lives of Adam, Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, there are one hundred years added before the births of their respective children, which one hundred years are again subtracted from the time they lived after the births of them; so that the Hebrew and Septuagint make the whole term of their lives exactly the same, only the Septuagint makes the fathers one hundred years later than the Hebrew.

Secondly, In the life of Lamech the Septuagint

six years before Noah's birth, and takes away thirty years from the time he lived after Noah was born; and in the whole makes his life shorter than the Hebrew by twenty-four years.

These differences, by advancing six hundred years before the births of Seth, Enos, Cainan, Mahalaleel, Jared, and Methuselah, and six years before the birth of Noah, (both the Septuagint and Hebrew agreeing the Flood to be in the six hundredth year of Noah's life) do carry forward the time of the Flood six hundred and six years, and so fix it A. M. 2263, instead of 1657, according to the following table:

According to the Septuagint.	Began his Life in the Year of the World	Had his Son in the Year of his Life	Lived after his Son's Birth, Years	Lived in all Years	Died in the Year of the World
Adam	1	230	700	930	930
Seth	230	205	707	912	1042
Enos	435	190	715	905	1340
Cainan	625	170	740	910	1535
Mahalaleel . .	795	165	730	895	1690
Jared	960	162	800	962	1922
Enoch	1122	165	200	365	1487
Methuselah . .	1287	187	782	969	2256
Lamech	1474	188	565	753	2227
Noah	1662	500	. . . .	. . . .	. . . .

How the different computations of the Septuagint and the Hebrew may be reconciled, or accounted for, is a point which the learned are not agreed in. The Hebrew computations are supported by a perfect concurrence and agreement of all Hebrew copies now in being; we are sure there have been no various readings in these places since[1] the Talmuds were composed; nay, the approved Hebrew copies computed thus in our Saviour's time; for the paraphrase of Onkelos, which is on all hands agreed to be about that age, is the same exactly with the Hebrew in these points. St. Jerom, in his time, took the Hebrew computations to be right, for he translated from them exactly agreeable to what we now read them: And the vulgar Latin, which has been in use in the Church above one thousand years, agrees with them; there is no positive proof that there ever was a Hebrew copy different from what the common Hebrew now is, in these computations.

But then, on the other hand, there are several arguments which have induced learned men to suspect, that the ancient Hebrew copies might differ from the present; and that the Greek computations, according to the Septuagint, are more likely to be true than the present Hebrew; for,

1. As all the Hebrew copies agree in their compu-

[1] The Talmuds were two, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian: the Jerusalem Talmud was composed about three hundred years after Christ, the Babylonian about two hundred years later.

tations, so do the Greek copies agree in theirs likewise. The most ancient MSS. have exactly the same computations with the common Septuagint, except a small variation or two, which shall be, by and bye, accounted for. And, though indeed we ought not to oppose even the best translation of the original; yet what I have mentioned gives us reason at least to enquire impartially, how and when such a difference began between the original and the version; a difference which is not a mistake in this or that copy or transcript, but a difference, probably, made at first by the translators themselves.

2. These variations are of such a sort, that they cannot be imagined to be made accidentally by the translators, out of haste, or by mistake. The Hebrew computations, as St. Jerom observes, were not expressed in words in the old copies, but in small characters scarcely visible. Had the Septuagint fallen short in the numbers, we might have supposed that they omitted some letter, and so lost ten or one hundred years. But such alterations as these, where there must have been letters added, and where sometimes both parts of a verse, and sometimes two verses together are altered, and so altered as still to keep them consistent with one another; whenever done, must have been made designedly, and with deliberation.

3. Though we have no direct proof of any variations in the old Hebrew copies in these computations; yet we have some ground to suspect there were some. The Jews, before the time of Antiochus, had a long

enjoyment of peace, and were very [m] careless abo
the sacred writings; so that numerous variations ha
by degrees, got into their copies. Antiochus seiz
and burnt all the copies he could come at; tha
were only a few of those that were in private han
which escaped him. After this calamity was over, t
Jews enquired, and got together those few, in ord
to have more copies written out from them; and fro
these came all the copies we have now in use. No
suppose the private copies which escaped the fury
Antiochus, had any of them dropped some numer
letters, and they were copied, as I said, in an a
when they did not study to be very accurate; th
might be the occasion of the present Hebrew falli
short in its calculations; the Septuagint being tra
lated from the copies before Antiochus' time, wh
the computations were not corrupted. The Pharise
were the rising sect after Antiochus' persecutio
and were also the correctors of the new transcrip
and it is not likely their pride and stiffness shou
let them consult the Septuagint, or alter any thi
in their copies by it: it is more probable, that if th
found any point in their MS. differing from t
Septuagint, they would be fond of preserving t
reading of their own originals, in opposition to
foreign translation of their books, how good soev
in its kind it might be.

4. Josephus is some proof, that there were forme
old Hebrew copies, different in these computati

[m] Buxtorf.

from the present ones. He expressly [a] says, that he wrote his history from the sacred pages; and his [b] account of the lives of these patriarchs agrees with the Septuagint, except only in a very small difference in the life of Lamech; so that Josephus must have seen a copy of the Hebrew books, different from the present ones, and at least very near agreeing with the Septuagint.

5. The Greek historians who wrote before Josephus, namely,[p] Demetrius Phalereus, Philo the elder, and Eupolemus, give us reason to suspect the same thing. They are writers very much commended by Clemens Alexandrinus, and Eusebius. They learned their knowledge of the Jewish affairs, from Jews; and Josephus says, they wrote accurately about them. Now, their computations differ very much from the common Hebrew, and come very near the Septuagint. According to [q] Demetrius, from the creation to the Flood is 2148 years. Eusebius,[r] from Alexander (a very ancient historian) computes from the creation to the Flood, 2284 years. These authors must have seen, or been informed from Hebrew copies, different from the present.

6. We may add to all this, that the whole Christian church, eastern and western, and all the ancient celebrated writers of the church, have neglected the

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[a] Contra Appion. lib. 1. [b] See it, Antiq. lib. i. c. iii.

[p] Walton Proleg. de versionibus Græcis.

[q] Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. i. p. 403. Ed. Oxon.

[r] See Walton. Proleg. de versionibus Græcis, sec. 61.

Hebrew computations, and adhered to the Greek; until in the last century some of the Roman writers, and not all of them, in regard to the decree of the the council of Trent about the vulgar Latin, adopted the Hebrew computations; not because they were the Hebrew, but because the vulgar Latin agreed with them. Baronius observes, [s] that the church used anciently to compute the years from the creation, not according to the Hebrew, but according to the Septuagint; and he cites many writers to confirm it; and indeed he might justly have cited every ancient writer, except St. Jerom and St. Austin. Amongst the moderns, Beza was the first who had any doubts about the Greek chronology: I say, had doubts, for he never absolutely rejected it, though he seemed most inclined to the Hebrew. There have been a few who have followed his opinion; but they are few, in comparison of the many who have gone the other way.

I have now given the substance of what is offered for the Hebrew, and for the Septuagint. I should next observe, that [t] Capellus attempts to reconcile the differences in their computations, in the following manner:

1. As to the difference between the Greek and Hebrew, in the life of Lamech, he quotes [u] St. Austin, who was of opinion, that the very first transcribers, who took copies of the original Septuagint MS. in

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[s] In Apparatu, n. 118.

[t] Lud. Cappelli Chron. Sacr. in Apparatu Walton. ad Bibl. Polyglot. [u] Aug. de Civitate Dei, cap. 13.

Ptolemy's library, made mistakes in transcribing it; that the Septuagint computed Lamech to be one hundred and eighty-two years old at Noah's birth, to live five hundred and ninety-five after it, and to live in all seven hundred and seventy-seven years. This one correction will take away all the difference between the Septuagint and the Hebrew, except the six hundred years added and subtracted, as before mentioned. And it will (agreeably to all other copies) make Methuselah die in the year of the Flood.

2. As to the addition and subtraction of the several hundred years, in the lives of the fathers beforementioned, the same author, from [s] St. Austin, answers, that they were not made by the Seventy themselves, but by some early transcriber from them; and probably for one or other of these two reasons. 1. Perhaps thinking the years of the antediluvian lives to be but lunar ones; and computing that at this rate the six fathers, whose lives are thus altered, must have had their children at five, six, seven, or eight years old, which must seem incredible; I say, the transcriber finding this, might be induced to add and subtract the hundred years, in order to make them of a more probable age of manhood, at the birth of their respective children: or, 2. If he thought the years of their lives to be solar ones; yet still he might imagine, that infancy and childhood were [t] proportionably longer in men, who were to

[s] August. de Civit. Dei, lib. 15. c. 12. [t] Tanto serior fuit proportione pubertas, quanto vitæ totius major Annositas, says St. August. lib. de Civitat. Dei. 15. c. 15.

live seven, eight, or nine hundred years, than they are in us; and that it was too early in their lives for them to be fathers at sixty, seventy, or ninety years of age: for which reason he might add the hundred years, to make their advance to manhood, which is commonly not until one fourth part of life is near over, proportionable to what was to be their term of life.

If these arguments are sufficient to answer in part what is said in favour of the Septuagint, in opposition to the Hebrew, (and they seem to me to carry a great probability) what is offered from Josephus, Philo, Demetrius Phalereus, and the other Greek historians agreeing in their computations with the Septuagint, is easily answered. They all lived since the time when the Septuagint translation was made; and very probably took their computations from that, or some copies of it, and not from any Hebrew copies of the Scriptures.

Demetrius Phalereus[z] was the first president of the college of Alexandria, to which the library belonged where the original MS. of the Septuagint was lodged. He was a very active man in erecting the library, and storing it with books; for all that Ptolemy Soter did in this matter, was by his counsel and direction; and the whole care and management of it was committed to him. And when Ptolemy Soter died; his son Ptolemy Philadelphus, carrying on the same design, made use of Demetrius, as his

[z] See Prideaux Connect. vol. ii. p. 18.

father had before done. Ptolemy Philadelphus, says Aristeas, being desirous to raise a considerable library at Alexandria, committed the care of this matter to Demetrius Phalereus, a noble Athenian then living in his court; directing him to procure from all nations, whatsoever books were of note amongst them. Pursuant to these orders, being informed of the book of the law of Moses among the Jews, he put the king upon sending to Jerusalem for a copy of it. Aristobulus,[a] an Alexandrian Jew, makes the same mention of Demetrius' part in this affair. We have now only some fragments of Aristobulus, quoted by [b] Clemens Alexandrinus and [c] Eusebius; but he is said to have written a comment on the five books of Moses, and therein to have mentioned this Greek version, as made under the care and direction of Demetrius Phalereus. The most learned Dr. Prideaux,[d] does indeed imagine, that Demetrius was put to death, in the beginning of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus; but he brings only very slender proof of it. It is more likely that he lived until after the library was finished; and if he took this care about getting the translation of the books of Moses; it is likely, when he had them, that his curiosity might lead him to look into them. He was a great scholar, as well as a statesman and poli-

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[a] In his comment on the books of Moses. See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 13. c. 12. [b] Strom. l. 1. & l. 5.

[c] Can. Chron. p. 187. Præp. Evang. lib. 7. c. 13. lib. 8. c. 10. lib. 13. c. 12. [d] Connection, vol. 2. p. 20.

tician; and if the computations above-mentioned were altered so early as St. Austin imagines, and upon the reasons he gives for it, the alterations might be made by Demetrius, or by his allowance and approbation.

I have said all this about Demetrius, upon supposition that he was one of the Greek historians, whose works might prove the Septuagint computation more probable than the Hebrew. Bishop Walton[e] does indeed quote him for that purpose; but I doubt he was mistaken. The Phalerean Demetrius lived a busy active life, a great officer of state, both at home and abroad; and I do not find that he ever wrote any history. Bishop Walton, therefore, might, perhaps, mistake the name; not Demetrius Phalereus, but Demetrius the historian should have been quoted upon this occasion. Demetrius[f] the historian was an inhabitant of Alexandria, lived not before the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, the grandson of Philadelphus, near seventy years after the Septuagint translation was made: he compiled the history of the Jews, and continued it down to the reign of Plolemy Philopator before-mentioned. It is easy to see that this writer might copy from the Septuagint, and be misled by any early alterations which had been made in it.

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[e] In Prolegom. ad Bibl. Polyglott. 9 § 61.

[f] Clem. Alexand. Strom. lib. 1. Hieronymus in catalogo illustrium Scriptorum c. 38. Vossius de Historicis Græcis lib. 3. sub litera D. He might possibly live some time later than Ptolemy Philopator, for the exact time of his life is not told us.

Philo lived still later, was contemporary with our Saviour; wrote almost three hundred years after the Hebrew was translated by the Seventy. He lived constantly at Alexandria, and therefore copied from the Septuagint; and as he lived so late, was more likely to be imposed upon, by the early alterations which had been made in it.

Josephus, though a Jew, notwithstanding he so often asserted that he wrote from the sacred pages, did not always write from the Hebrew Scriptures. He was, I own, a priest, and of the first family of the priests, brought up from his childhood in the Hebrew law, and perfectly skilled in the Hebrew language; and I do not question, but he could as easily make use of the Hebrew Bible as the Greek; yet still I think it is very evident, that in several parts of his works, where he ought to have used at least one of them, he has used neither. The utmost that Dr. Hody [g] could conclude about him was, that he principally followed the Hebrew text; which, if admitted, is consistent with what Dr. Cave observed of him,[h] that he often takes a middle way, between the Septuagint and the Hebrew. But Dr. Wells has examined his chronology with great exactness,[i] and produces several passages, in which he adheres to the Hebrew against the Greek; and several others,

[g] Hody. Dissert. de Septuagint. l. 3. c. 1. sect 2.

[h] Histor. Litterar. P. ii. in Joseph.

[i] Dissertation upon the chronology of Josephus, p. 16—21.

in which he agrees with the Greek in opposition to the Hebrew, and as many in which he differs from both. From which he very reasonably concludes, that in compiling his history he had both the Hebrew and Greek bibles before him, and sometimes used one, and sometimes the other; and when he thought there was reason, he did not scruple to recede from both. The Jews had other ancient books, to which they paid great deference, beside the Scriptures. Josephus copied often from these, and from heathen writers too; and he was not only many times led away by them from what is contained in the Scriptures, but oftentimes misled by them into trifles and mistakes.—Josephus is not of sufficient authority to induce us to alter our Bible.

And as to the fathers of the first ages of the church, they were good men, but not men of universal learning. They understood the Greek tongue better than the Hebrew; used and wrote from the Septuagint copies, which was the reason why the Septuagint computations prevailed amongst them.[k] And thus I have put the whole of what may be said upon this subject together, into as narrow a compass as I could well bring it. The reader may see the former part of

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[k] St. Jerom and St. Austin (as was before hinted) adhered to the Hebrew computations; and they were, though not the only two who understood the Hebrew, yet without doubt much better skilled in it than the Fathers of their age, except Origen.

what I have offered, treated more at large in Capellus's Sacra Chronologia, prefixed to Walton's Polyglott Bible, and in Bishop Walton's Prolegomenon upon the Septuagint and Greek versions of the Scriptures. And if the latter part may be allowed, the differences between the Septuagint and Hebrew, as far as we have yet entered into them, have but little in them: they appear considerable only, from the weight which the learned have given them in their dissertations upon them; but they may, by the suppositions above-mentioned, be very easily reconciled.

There is one thing more which should not be wholly omitted; namely, a variation or two in the several Greek copies from one another.

We have, in our table of the Septuagint computations, supposed Methuselah to be one hundred and eighty seven years old at Lamech's birth, to live seven hundred and eighty-two years after it, and to live in all nine hundred and sixty-nine years; but Eusebius,[1] St. Jerom, and St. Austin assert, that according to the Septuagint he begat Lamech in the one hundred and sixty-seventh year of his age, lived after his birth eight hundred and two years, and lived in all nine hundred and sixty-nine years. The Roman edition of the Septuagint, printed in Greek and Latin at Paris, in the year 1628, agrees with them in these computations. But in answer to them; First, St. Austin himself confesses, that there were various readings in the computations of Methuselah's life;

[1] Capelli Chronol. sacra.

that some copies (three Greek, one Latin, and one Syriac) made Methuselah die six years before the Flood. Now, these copies must have had one hundred and eighty-seven, and seven hundred and eighty-two, as in our table, for then they will exactly do it. Nay, secondly, as Eusebius allows that some copies supposed Methuselah to die six years before the Flood; so he, also, expressly computes him to live seven hundred and eighty-two years after the birth of Lamech. Now, these copies must make him one hundred and eighty-seven at the birth of Lamech; for there has been no doubt of his living in all, according to the Septuagint, nine hundred and sixty-nine years. Thirdly, Africanus, cited by Eusebius, says from the Septuagint, that Lamech was born in the one hundred and eighty-seventh year of Methuselah.—Fourthly, If the computations above-mentioned be admitted; Methuselah must live fourteen or fifteen years after the Flood, which is too great an absurdity to be admitted. The two or three copies mentioned by Eusebius, have probably the ancient reading of the Septuagint; and Eusebius and Syncellus should have corrected the examplars, which they computed form, by them, as most of the modern editors have done. For all the later editions of the Septuagint agree with our table; namely, the Basil edition of Hervagius, published A. D. 1545; and Wichelius's, published A. D. 1595, makes no various reading upon the place; as if all books were the same with it, or those which were not, were not worth confuting. The royal edition by Plantin is the same, with this only fault, that ϖϛ is put instead of ϡϛ, one hun-

dred and eighty-five instead of one hundred and eighty-seven; but that mistake is corrected in the Paris Greek and Latin, made from it An. Dom. 1628.

There is one reading more, in which Eusebius seems to differ from us. He makes Lamech to live φλε, i. e. five hundred and thirty-five years after Noah's birth; we say he lived five hundred and sixty-five. But it is probable that this mistake was either Scaliger's, or some transcriber's, and not Eusebius's; φλε might easily be written for φξε; for, first, St. Jerom, who translated Eusebius into Latin, wrote it DLXV. Secondly, all the modern editions of the Septuagint, put it 565. Thirdly, St. Austin says expressly, that the Hebrew computations in this place are thirty years more than the Greek. Now, the Hebrew makes Lamech to live 595 years after Noah's birth; therefore the Greek computation, being thirty years less, must be five hundred and sixty-five. Fourthly, all copies of the Septuagint agree, that he was one hundred and eighty-eight at Noah's birth, and that he lived in all seven hundred and fifty-three years. Now from hence it is certain, that they must suppose him to live five hundred and sixty-five years after the birth of Noah; for one hundred and eighty-eight and five hundred and sixty-five is seven hundred and fifty-three.

We are now come to the last point to be treated of, the geography of the antediluvian world. There are but few places of it mentioned; the land of Eden, with its garden; the land of Nod, on the east of Eden; and the city of Enoch, in that country.

The land and garden of Eden was in the eastern

parts of the world, remarkable for a river which arose out of it, dividing itself into four streams, or branches: the first of which was named Pison, and encompassed the whole land of Havilah: the second was named Gihon, and encompassed the land of Cush; the third was Hiddekel, and ran into the eastern parts of Assyria; the fourth was the noted river Euphrates. This is the description of the place given us by Moses. The learned have formed different scheme of its situation from this description of it; two of which are worth our notice.

First, some suppose the land to be near Cæle-Syria, and imagine the river arose somewhere between the mountains Libanus and Anti-Libanus; and from thence to run to the place where Euphrates now divides Syria and Mesopotamia, and there to divide itself, first, into a stream, which we now make part of the Euphrates; that this stream passed through the ridge of mountains which run across the country, and beyond them joined itself to the present Tigris, and continued its course where the Tigris now runs into the Sinus Persicus; all this stream they call Hiddekel. Second, Their second river, which they call Euphrates, is the present Euphrates, from the place where we divide the Tigris from it, down to the Persian Gulf; much above the same place, they suppose the river to divide into two other streams, which ran through the land of the Ishmaelites, and divided the range of hills at the entrance of Arabia Felix, and so encompassed between their streams a part of that country, and then met again; but afterwards divided, and ran, the one into the Indian, the other into the Red Sea. The name

one of these streams was Gihon, of the other Pison; the draught which I have added will set this scheme in the clearest view.

The authors of the second scheme, though they have, every one of them, some peculiarities, yet agree in the main, that Eden was in Chaldea, that the garden was somewhere near the rivers amongst which Babylon was afterwards built. They prove the land of Havilah by undeniable arguments, to be the country adjacent to the present Euphrates, all along and upon the banks of that river, and spreading thence towards the desarts of Arabia. The land of Cush, which our English translation erroneously renders Ethiopia, was, they say, that part of Chaldea where Cush, the son of Ham, settled after the Flood. A draught of this scheme will set it in a clearer light than any verbal description; I have therefore given a map of it, and shall only add a reflection or two on both the schemes of the geography of this first world.

As to the former scheme, it is, indeed, true, there was a place in Syria called Eden;[m] but it was of a much later date than the Eden where Adam was placed. Syria is not East to the place where Moses wrote, but[n] rather North. And further, none of the descriptions which Moses has given of Eden, belong to any part of Syria. There are no rivers in the

[m] See Amos i. 5.

[n] Moses wrote either when he lived in Egypt, or in the land of Midian.

world, which run in any degree agreeable to this fancy; and though the authors of it answer, that the earth and course of rivers were altered by the Flood, yet I cannot admit that answer as a good one. Moses did not describe the situation of this place in antediluvian names; the names of the rivers, and the lands about them, Cush, Havilah, &c. are all names of later date than the Flood; and I cannot but think that Moses intended (according to the known geography of the world when he wrote, and according to his own notion of it) to give us hints of the place near which Eden in the former world, and the garden of paradise, were seated.

As to the second scheme, it seems to come a great deal nearer the truth than the other; there are but small objections to be made against it. There is, indeed, no draught of the country which shews the rivers exactly to answer Moses' description of them; but how easy is it to suppose, either that the rivers about Babylon have been at several times so much altered, by streams and canals made by the heads of that potent empire, that we never had a draught of them agreeable to what they were when Moses wrote about them; or, if Moses wrote according to the then known geography of a country which he had never seen, it is very certain that all modern observations find greater varieties in the situation of places, and make greater corrections in all old charts and maps, than need to be made in this description of Moses, to have it agree even with our latest maps of the present country, and rivers in and near Chaldea.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK II.

NOAH, with the remains of the old world in the ark, was carried upon the waters; for about[a] five months there was no appearance of the Flood's abating. In the beginning of[b] April, the ark touched upon the top of Mount Ararat. After they had stopped here[c] forty days, Noah, desirous to know whether the waters were decreasing any where else in the world, let a bird or two[d] fly out of the ark; but they flew about, until weary, and finding no place to light upon, returned back to him. Seven days after,[e] he let a

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[a] One hundred and fifty days, Gen. viii. 3. i. e. exactly five Hebrew months, each month consisting of thirty days.

[b] On the seventeenth of the seventh month, Gen. viii. 4. i. e. of the month Nisan, pretty near answering to the third of our April.

[c] Gen. viii. 6.

[d] Gen. viii. 7, 8.

[e] Ver. 10, 11.

bird out again; she returned, but with a leaf in he mouth, plucked from some tree which she had foun above water. Seven[f] days after, he let the bird fly third time; but then she found places enough to re on, and so returned to him no more. The waters con tinued to decrease gradually, and about[g] the middle c June Noah looked about him, and could see the top of many hills. About the middle of[h] September, th whole earth came into view; and at the[i] beginning o November was sufficiently drained; so that Noah his family, and the creatures came out of the ark, an took possession of the world again. As soon as the were come ashore, Noah raised an altar, and offere sacrifices. GOD was pleased to accept his piety, an promised a blessing to him and his posterity; grante them the creatures of the world for their food, an gave some laws for the future to be observed b them.

1. GOD granted them the creatures of the world for their food: *every moving thing that liveth sha be meat for you, even as the green herb have*

[f] Gen. viii. 12.

[g] In the tenth month, on the first day of the month, i. e on the first day of Tamuz, answering to about the 16th o our June.

[h] On the first day of the first month, ver. 13. i. e. o the first of Tizri, or the 16th of our September.

[i] Twenty-seventh of the second month, i. e. 27th o Marchesvan, about the 10th of November.

[k] Gen. ix. 3.

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given you all things. In the first ages of the world, men lived upon the fruits of trees, and the product of the ground; and it is asserted by some writers, that the creatures were not used for either food or sacrifice. It is[l] thought that the offering of Abel, who sacrificed of his flocks, was only wool, the fruits of his shearing; and milk, or rather cream, a part of his lactage. The heathens are said to have had a general notion, that the early sacrifices were of this sort. Theophrastus is quoted by Porphyry in Eusebius,[m] asserting, that the first men offered handfuls of grass; in time they came to sacrifice the fruits of trees; in after ages to kill, and offer cattle upon their altars. Many other authors are cited for this opinion; Sophocles[n] speaks of wool and grapes as an ancient sacrifice; and Pausanias hints[o] the ancient sacrifice to have been only fruits of trees; of the vine especially, and honey-combs and wool: and Plato was of opinion, that living creatures[p] were not anciently offered in sacrifice, but cakes of bread, and fruits, and honey poured upon them; and[q] Empedocles asserts, that the first altars were not stained with the blood of the

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[l] The Hebrew word *minchah*, here used, favours this notion; זבח being the word which signifies *a sacrifice where any blood is shed.*

[m] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 9.

[n] Sophoclis Polyid.

[o] Pausanias de cerere Phrygialensi.

[p] Plato de legibus, l. 5.

[q] Lib. de antiquissimis temporibus.

creatures. Some christian writers have gone into this opinion, and improved it; they have imagined, that sacrifices were offered only of those things which men ate and drank for their sustenance and refreshment; and that therefore, before the creatures were used for food, they were not brought to the altars. They go further, and conjecture from hence, that the original of sacrifices was human; men being prompted by reason to offer to GOD, by way of gratitude, part of those things for the use of which they were indebted to his bounty. I should rather think the contrary opinion true. GOD appointed the skins of beasts for cloathing to our first parents, which could not be obtained without killing them; and this seems to intimate, that the creatures were at that time appointed for sacrifice. It seems unlikely that GOD should order the creatures to be slain, merely for cloathing, when mankind were already supplied with another sort of covering; [r] but very probable, that, if he appointed a creature to be offered in sacrifice, he might direct the offerer to use the skin for cloathing. And, perhaps, from this institution was derived the appointment in Leviticus; [s] that the priest should have the skin of the burnt-offering. There are several considerations, which do, I think, very strongly intimate, both that sacrifices of living creatures were in use before mankind had leave to eat flesh; and also that the origin of sacrifices was at first by divine appointment. The Talmudists agree, that holocausts

[r] Gen. iii. 7. [s] Lev. vii. 8.

of the creatures were offered in the earliest times, and long before men had leave to eat flesh; and it is very plain, that Noah offered the creatures before GOD had granted leave to eat them;[t] for that grant is represented to be made after Noah's sacrifice, and not before it;[u] and it is evident that the distinction of clean and unclean beasts, was before the Flood;[x] and it cannot be conceived how there could be such a distinction, if the creatures were neither eaten, nor used for sacrifice. Abel's sacrifice seems rather to have been a[y] burnt-offering of the firstlings of his flock, than an oblation of wool and cream. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews took it to be so; he supposed Abel's offering to be θυσια, a sacrifice of a creature killed, and not an oblation, which would have been called προσφορα, or δωρον.[z] And as to the origin of sacrifices, it is extremely hard to conceive them to be a human institution; because we cannot, this way, give any tolerable account of the reasons of them. If mankind had in the first ages no

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[t] Gen. viii. 20. [u] Cap. ix. ver. 3.

[x] Chap. vii. ver. 2. [y] See Levit. vi. 12.

[z] Heb. xi. 4. Porphyry in Eusebius endeavours very fallaciously to derive the word θυσια, from θυμιαω, and would infer its derivation from θυω to be modern, and taken up to defend the doctrine of sacrificing living creatures. See Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. i. c. 9. But we answer, he offers no reason for his opinion, nor can it possibly be defended; θυσια and θυμιασις are, according to all rules of etymology, words of a very different derivation.

immediate revelation, but came to their knowledge of GOD by the exercise of their reason, it must be allowed, that such notions as they had of GOD, such would be their way and method of serving him; but then, how is it possible that they should go into such notions of GOD, as to make it seem proper for them to offer sacrifices, in order to make atonement for their sins? Reason, if it led to any, would lead men to a reasonable service; but the worship of GOD in the way of sacrifice, cannot, I think, appear to be of this sort, if we take away the reason that may be given for it from revelation. We sacrifice to the gods, said Porphyry,[a] for three reasons; either to pay them worship, or to return them thanks for their favours, or to desire them to give us good things, or to free us from evils: *Ad hæc autem votum animi satisfacit.* It can never be made out from any natural notions of GOD, that sacrifices are a reasonable method to obtain or return thanks for the favours of Heaven. The result of a true rational enquiry can only be this, that *GOD is a Spirit, and they that worship him, must worship him in spirit and in truth.* And though I cannot say, that any of the wise heathens did by the light of nature bring themselves to a fixed and clear conviction of this great truth; yet it is remarkable that several of them made great advances towards it; and all the wise part of them saw clearly, that no rational or philosophical account could be given of their sacrifices. The institutors of them

[a] In lib. de sacrific.

always pretended to have received particular directions from the gods about them,[b] or at least those that lived in after ages chose to suppose so, not knowing how to support them otherwise. The more[c] forward writers strove to decry them; the more moderate pleaded a reverence for antiquity, and long and universal use in favour of them; and the best philosophers[d] qualified the use of them, by using them in a way and manner of their own; always supposing, that the disposition of the offerer, and not the oblation which was offered, was chiefly regarded by the Deity.[e]

The true account therefore of the origin of sacrifices, must be this; GOD, having determined what should, in the fulness of time, be the true propitiation for the sins of the world, namely, CHRIST, who by his own blood obtained us eternal redemption; thought fit from the beginning to appoint the creatures to be offered by way of figure, for the times then present, to represent the true offering which was afterwards to be made for the sins of men. The writer of the epistle to the Hebrews very largely argues the sacrifices in the law to be grounded upon

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[b] Thus Numa's institutions were appointed him by the goddess Egeria. Florus. Livy.

[c] See the verses of the Greek poet in Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 7.

[d] Many instances might be brought from the sacrifices of Pythagoras, vid. Jamb. de vit. Pythag. et Porphyr. de vita ejusdem.

[e] See Jamb. de vit. Pythag. c. 7.

this reason ;[f] and I should conceive that his reasoning may be equally applied to the sacrifices that were appointed before the law; because sacrifices were not a new institution at the giving of the law; for, says the Prophet,[g] *I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying, obey my voice, and ye shall be my people, and walk ye in all my ways that I have commanded you, that it may be well with you.* There were no sacrifices appointed in the two tables delivered to Moses; and it is exceeding probable, that the rules which Moses gave about sacrifices and oblations, were only a revival of the ancient institutions, with perhaps some few additions or improvements which GOD thought proper for the state and circumstances through which he designed to carry the Jewish nation; for, *the law was added because of transgressions,*[h] *until the seed should come*, and not to set up a new religion.

Our blessed Saviour, in his discourse with the woman of Samaria, John iv. plainly intimated, that the worship of GOD by sacrifices was a positive institution, founded upon the expectation of a promised Messiah; for he hints the Samaritans, who either used sacrifices, imagining them part of natural religion, or at least did not know the grounds of their being appointed; I say, he hints them to be blind

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[f] Chap. ix. & x. [g] Jer. vii. 22.
[h] Gal. iii. 19.

and ignorant will-worshippers, men who worshipped *they knew not what*, ver. 22; or, rather it should be translated,[1] men that worshipped *they knew not how*, i. e. in a way and manner, the reason and grounds of which they knew nothing of. But the Jews knew how they worshipped, for *salvation was of the Jews*; the promise of a Messiah had been made to them, and they had a good reason to offer their sacrifices; for they were a method of worship appointed by GOD himself, to be used by them until the Messiah should come. The woman's answer, ver. 25. *I know that Messias cometh*, looks as if she apprehended our Saviour's true meaning.

The reason given in the eleventh chapter to the Hebrews, for Abel's sacrifice pleasing GOD better than Cain's, is another proof that sacrifices were appointed by some positive institution of GOD. *By faith Abel offered unto GOD a more excellent sacrifice than Cain.* The faith, of which several instances are given in this chapter, is the belief of something declared; and in consequence of such belief, the performance of some action enjoined by GOD. *By faith Noah, being warned of GOD, prepared an ark*, i. e. he believed the warning given him, and obediently made the ark, which he was ordered to make. *By*

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[1] In the expressions, ὑμεις προσκυνειτε ο ουκ οιδατε——ημεις προσκυνουμεν ο οιδαμεν, the preposition κατα is understood, καθ' ο οιδατε, and καθ' ο οιδαμεν. The expression is frequent in all Greek writers. If the Being worshipped had been referred to, I think it would have been ον, and not ο.

faith Abraham, when he was called to go out into a place which he should after receive for an inheritance, obeyed; and he went out, not knowing whither he went, i. e. he believed that GOD would give him what he had promised him, and in consequence of such belief did what GOD commanded him. All the other instances of faith mentioned in that chapter, are of the same sort, and thus it was that *Abel by faith offered a better sacrifice than Cain.* He believed what GOD had then promised, that the *seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head;* and in consequence of such belief offered such a sacrifice for his sins, as GOD had appointed to be offered, *until the seed should come.* If GOD, at that time, had given no command about sacrificing, there could have been no more of the faith treated of in this chapter in Abel's sacrifice, than in Cain's offering. Cloppenburgh [k] has given a very good account of Cain and Abel's offering.

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[k] In Schol. Sacrific. p. 15. Etsi diversæ oblationi videatur occasionem præbuisse diversum vitæ institutum, ipsi tamen diversitati oblationis hoc videtur subesse; quod Abel pecudum oblatione cruenta ante omnia curavit, το ιλαστηριον δια της πιστεως εν τω αιματι, propitiationem per fidem in sanguine quo necessario purificanda erant dona Deo oblata Heb. ix. 22, 23. Cainus autem oblatione sola eucharisticâ de fructu terræ defungens supinè neglexerit sacrificium ιλαστικον, ut eo nomine Deo displicuerit, neque potuerit obtinere justitiæ Dei, quæ ex fide est, testimonium, quod non perhibebat Deus neglecto istoc externo symbolo supplicationis ex fide pro remissione peccatorum obtinendâ.

The abettors of the other side of the question do indeed produce the authorities of some heathen writers, and rabbins; and of some christian fathers, and of some considerable authors, both papists and protestants; but a general answer may be given to what is offered from them. The heathens had, as I observed, no true notion of the origin of sacrifices. They were generally received and established in all countries as positive institutions; but the philosophers were willing to prove them to be a reasonable service; and therefore thinking they could give a better account of the inanimate oblations, than of the bloody sacrifices, they imagined these to be the most ancient, and that the others were in time added to them; but there is no heathen writer that I know of, who has gone so far as to assert expressly, that sacrifices were at first a human institution; or has proved that [1] such a worship could be invented by the reason

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Quemadmodum ergo in cultu spirituali publicanus supplicans cum peccatorum ξομολογησει descendit in domum suam justificatus præ pharisæo cum gratiarum actione Deo vovente decimas omnium, quæ possidebat, Luc. xviii. 12. Sic censemus hac parte potiorem fuisse Abelis oblationem præ oblatione Caini, quod ipse supplicationem suam pro impetrandâ peccatorum remissione testatus sit, per sacrificii propitiatorii cruentam oblationem, cum alter dona sua eucharistico ritu offerret χωρις αιματοχυσιας.

[1] Jamblichus says of sacrifices, that they were derived ex communi hominum ad homines consuetudine; neque convenire naturæ deorum mores humanos supra modum exuperantl. lib. de Myster. Ægyp. in cap. de utilitate sacrificiorum.

of man, or that it is agreeable to any notions we can have of GOD. The rabbins had a general notion that sacrifices were first appointed, or rather permitted by GOD, in compliance with the disposition which the Israelites had contracted in Egypt; but this opinion is very weakly grounded. I cannot question but that when the epistle to the Hebrews was written, the current opinions of the Jewish doctors were of another sort; for it is not to be supposed that the first preachers of Christianity argued upon such principles as they knew would not be admitted of, by those whom they endeavoured to convert to their religion. It is certain that the Jewish rabbins, when they were presented with the force of proofs in favour of CHRIST from their Scriptures, did depart from many of the sentiments of their ancestors; and went into new notions in several points, to evade the arguments which they could not answer. Some of the Christian fathers have taken the side in this question for which I am contending, especially Eusebius;[m] and if some others of them have thought otherwise, this is not a point in which we are to be determined by their authority. The popish [n] writers took up their notion of sacrifices in order to favour some of their opinions about the mass; and as to the protestant writers, it is not difficult to see which of them offer the best reasons. One thing I would observe upon the whole; if it

[m] Demonstrat: Evang. lib. 1. c. 10.

[n] Greg. de valentia de missæ sacrific. l. 1. c. 4. et Bellarm. de missâ. l. 1. c. 20.

appears from history that sacrifices have been used all over the world, have spread as far, as universally amongst men, as the very notions of a Deity; if they were the first, the earliest way of worship in every nation; if we find them almost as early in the world as mankind upon the earth; and at the same time cannot find that mankind ever did, or could by the light of reason, invent such notions of a Deity as should lead them to imagine this way of worship to be a reasonable service; then we must necessarily suppose that sacrifices were appointed for some particular end and purpose; and agree to what we find in Moses' history, that there was a revealed religion in the beginning of the world.

But however writers have differed about what was offered before the Flood, it is agreed that mankind eat no flesh, until the leave here obtained by Noah for it. *Every herb bearing seed, and every tree, to you it shall be for meat.*[a] This was the whole allowance which GOD at first made them; and all writers, sacred and profane, do generally suppose that the early ages confined themselves very strictly within the limits of it.

If we rightly consider their condition, whilst they were under this restraint of diet, their lives must have been very laborious; the sentence against Adam, which denounced that *in the sweat of their brow they should eat bread*, must have been literally fulfilled. We must not imagine that, *after the ground*

[a] Gen. 1. 29.

was cursed, men received from it a full and plenteous product, without tilth or culture; for the earth was to bring forth of itself, only thorns and thistles; pains and labour were required to produce another sort of crop from it. The poets, in their accounts of the golden age, suppose the earth to have brought forth all its fruits spontaneously; but it is remarkable that the historians found no such halcyon days recorded in the antiquities of any nations. Adam and Eve are supposed to have had this happiness whilst they lived in paradise; and the poets framed their accounts of the golden age, from the ancient notions of the garden of Eden;[n] but we do not find that the prose-writers fell into them. Diodorus Siculus supposes the lives of the first men to have been far from abounding with ease and plenty; "Having houses to build,[p] cloathes to make, and not having invented proper instruments to work with, they lived a hard and laborious life; and many of them not having made a due provision for their sustenance, perished with hunger and cold in winter." This was his account of the lives and condition of the first men. The art of husbandry is now so generally understood, and such plenty is produced by a due and proper tillage, that it may seem no hard matter for any one, who has ground to work on, to produce an ample provision for life; but even still, should any family not used to husbandry, nor supplied with proper tools, and instruments for their tillage, be obliged to raise

[p] Lib. 1.

from the ground as much of all sorts of grain as they should want, they would find their time taken up in a variety of labours. And this was the condition of the first men; they had not only to till the ground, but to try, and by several experiments to find out the best and most proper method of tilling it, and to invent and make all such instruments as they had occasion for; and we find them confessing the toil and labour that was laid upon them, in the words of Lamech at the birth of Noah, *This same shall comfort us concerning our work and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the* LORD *hath cursed.*[q] Lamech was probably informed from GOD, that his son Noah would obtain a grant of the creatures for the use of men; and knowing the labour and inconveniencies they were then under, he rejoiced in foreseeing what ease and comfort they should have, when they should obtain a large supply of food from the creatures, besides what they could produce from the ground by tillage.

But secondly, GOD restrained them from eating blood,[r] *But flesh with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat.* What the design of this restraint was, or what the very restraint is, has been variously controverted. Mr. Selden[s] in his book *De Jure Gentium juxta Disciplinam Hebræorum*, has a very learned chapter upon this subject, in which he has given us the several opinions of the rabbins, though I think they

[q] Gen. v. 29. [r] Chap. ix. ver. 4. [s] Lib. 7. c. 1.

give us but little true information about it. The injunction of not eating blood, has in the place before us no circumstances to explain its meaning; but if we look into the Jewish law, we find it there repeated, and such a reason given for it as seems very probable to have been the original reason for this prohibition.[t] *Whatsoever man there be of the house of Israel, or of the strangers that sojourn amongst you, that eateth any manner of blood, I will even set my face against that soul that eateth blood, and will cut him off from among his people; for the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given you that upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls;* (or it might be translated, *I have appointed you that to make atonement upon the altar for your souls;* for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.) An ancient Jewish commentator upon the books of Moses,[u] paraphrases the words pretty justly: "The soul," says he, "of all flesh is in the blood, and for that reason I have chosen the blood of all the beasts to make an atonement for the soul of man." This is by far the best account that can be given of the prohibition of blood. GOD appointed that the blood of the creatures should be offered for the sins of men, and therefore required that it should be religiously set apart for that purpose. If we examine the Mosaical law, we shall find it strictly agreeable to this notion. In some

[t] Levit. xvii. 10, 11. [u] Chauskunni: and Eusebius hints the same reason. Dem. Evang. lib. 1, c. 10.

places the blood is appointed to be on the altar, in others, to be poured on the ground as water; but these appointments are easily reconcileable, by considering the reason of each of them. Whilst the Jews were in the wilderness, and the tabernacle near at hand, they were ordered never to kill any thing to eat, without bringing it to be killed at the door of the tabernacle, in order to have the blood offered upon the altar.[x] But when they came into the land of Canaan, and were spread over the country, and had a temple at Jerusalem, and were commanded strictly to offer all their sacrifices there only, it was impossible to observe the injunction before named; they could not come from all parts to Jerusalem to kill their provision, and to offer the blood upon the altar. Against this difficulty Moses provided the book of Deuteronomy, which is an enlargement and explanation of the laws in Leviticus. The substance of what he has ordered in this matter is as follows:[y] That when they should come over Jordan to dwell in Canaan, and there should be a place chosen by GOD, to cause his name to dwell there, they were to bring all their offerings to that place,[z] and to take heed not to offer any offerings elsewhere.[a] But if they lived so far from the temple, that they could not bring the creatures up thither which they killed to eat, they had leave to *kill and eat whatsoever they had a mind to*, only instead of offering the blood, they were *to*

[x] Levit. xvii. 3, 4.
[y] Deut. xii.
[z] Ver. 11, 12.
[a] Deut. xii. 13.

pour it upon the earth as water, and to take care that they eat none of it.[b] Thus the pouring out the blood upon the earth was appointed, where circumstances were such that an offering of it could not be made; and agreeably hereto, when they took any thing in hunting, which probably might be so wounded as not to live until they could bring it to the tabernacle to offer the blood upon the altar, they were to kill it, and pour out the blood, and cover it with dust.[c] And we may from hence see the reason for what David did, when his three warriors brought him water from the well of Bethlehem, at the extreme hazard of their lives;[d] looking upon the water as if it were their blood, which they hazarded to obtain it, he refused to drink it; and there being no rule or reason to offer such water upon the altar, he thought fit to do what was next to offering it, *he poured it out before the Lord.*

There is no foundation either in the reason of the thing, or in the prohibition, to support the opinion of some persons, who imagine the eating of blood to be an immoral thing. If it were so, GOD would not have permitted[e] the Israelites to sell a creature which died in its blood, to an alien or stranger, that he might eat it. The Israelites were strictly obliged by their law to eat no flesh until they had poured out the blood, or offered it upon the altar, because GOD had appointed the blood to be an atonement for their sins;

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[b] Deut. xii. 21.
[c] Levit. xvii. 13.
[d] 1 Chron. xi. 18.
[e] Deut. xiv. 21.

but the alien and stranger, who knew of no such orders for setting it apart for that use, might as freely eat it as any part of the creature. And I think this account of the prohibition of blood, will fully answer all the scruples which some Christians have about it. The use of it upon the altar is now over, and therefore the reason from abstaining from it is ceased. And though the Apostles [f] at the council of Jerusalem, that offence might not be given to the Jews, advised the Gentiles at that season to abstain from it; yet, the eating it, or not eating it, is no part of our religion, but we are at perfect liberty in this matter.

In the third place, GOD set before them the dignity of human nature, and his abhorrence of any person's taking away the life of his brother; and commanded for the future, that murder should be punished with death. Then he promised Noah that mankind should never be destroyed by water any more; and lest he or his posterity should live in fear, from the frequent rains to which the world by its constitution was become subject, he appointed the rainbow [g] for a per-

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[f] Acts xv.

[g] Homer seems to have had a notion that the rainbow was at first (to use Moses's expression) set in the cloud to be a sign unto men; for he speaks to this purpose, Iliad. λ v. 28.

Εν νεφει σημ' ἐθετ' τεραας μεροπων Ανθρωπων.

That τεραας here signifies a sign, is evident from the fourth verse of this Iliad.

petual memorial, that he had made them this promise.

The ark, we said, touched upon mount Ararat. We do not find that it floated away from thence, but rather conclude that here they came ashore. But where this Ararat is, has been variously conjectured. The common opinion is, that the ark rested on one of the Gordyæan hills, which separate Armenia from Mesopotamia; but there are some reasons for receding from this opinion.

First, the journeying of mankind from the place where the ark rested, to Shinaar, is said to be from the East;[h] but a journey from the Gordyæan hills to Shinaar would be from the North. Secondly, Noah is not once mentioned in the following part of Moses's history; a strong intimation that he neither came with these travellers to Shinaar, nor was settled in Armenia or Mesopotamia, or any of the adjacent countries. He was alive a great while after the confusion of Babel, for he lived three hundred years after the Flood. And surely if he had come to Babel, or lived in any of the nations into which mankind were dispersed from thence, a person of such eminence could not at once sink to nothing, and be no more mentioned in the history and settlement of these nations, than if he had not been at all. Some authors, for these reasons, have attempted to find Mount Ararat in another place, and suppose it to be some of

[h] Gen. xi. i.

the mountains north of India. They think that the ark rested in this country, and that Noah settled here after he came out of it; that only part of his descendants travelled into Shinaar, the other part of them settled where he did; and that the reason why Moses mentions neither him nor them, was because they lived at a great distance from, and had no share in the actions of the nations round about Shinaar, to whom alone, from the dispersion of mankind, he confines his history. The reasons to be given for this opinion are, First, If Ararat be situate as far East as India, the travellers might very justly be said to journey from the East to Shinaar. Secondly, This account is favoured by old heathen testimonies. "Two hundred and fifty years before Ninus (says Portius Cato) the earth was overflowed with waters, and mankind began again in Saga Scythia." Now Saga Scythia is in the same latitude with Bactria, between the Caspian sea and Imaus, north of Mount Paraponisus. And this agrees with the general notion that the[i] Scythians might contend for the primævity of original with the most ancient nations of the world. The later writers, unacquainted with the original history of this people, recur[k] to philosophical reasons to support their antiquity, and speak of them as seated near the Mæotis and Euxine Sea. But these Scythians so seated, must be some later descendants or colonies from the original Scythians; so late, that Heroditus[l]

[i] Justin Lib. 2. c. 1.
[k] Ibid, c. 1. & 2.
[l] In Melpom.

imagined their first settlement under Targitanus, to be not above a hundred years before Darius's repelling the Scythians, who had invaded his provinces, *i. e.* about A. M. 3400; so late,[m] that they thought themselves the most recent nation in the world. The original Scythians were situate[n] as I said, near Bactria. Herodotus placed them as far east as Persia;[o] and says that the Persians called them Sacæ, and supposes them and the Bactrians to be near neighbours.

Thirdly, The notion of Noah's settling in these parts, as also his living here, and not coming at all to Shinaar, is agreeable to the Chaldean traditions about the deluge; which[p] inform us, that Xisuthrus (for so they called Noah) came out of the ark with his wife and daughter, and the pilot of the ark, and offered sacrifice to God, and then both he and they disappeared, and were never seen again; and that afterwards, Xisuthrus's sons journeyed towards Babylonia, and built Babylon and built several other cities. Fourthly, The language, learning, and history of the Chinese, do all favour this account; their language seems not to have been altered in the confusion of Babel; their learning is reported to have been full as ancient as the learning of the more western nations; their polity is of another sort; and their government

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[m] Σκυθαι λεγουσι νεωτατον απαντων εθνεων ειναι το σφετερον, Herod. ibid.

[n] See Ptol. Asiæ Tab. [o] In Polyhymn.

[p] See Syncellus, p. 30, 31. and Eusebius in Chron.

established upon very different maxims and foundations; and their history reaches up indisputably to the times of Noah, not falling short, like the histories of other nations, such a number of years as ought to be allowed, for their inhabitants removing from Shinaar, to their place of settlement. The first king of China was Fohi; and as I have before observed that Fohi and Noah were contemporaries, at least, for there are many reasons from the Chinese traditions concerning Fohi, to think him and Noah the same person. First, they say,[q] Fohi had no father, *i. e.* Noah was the first man in the postdiluvian world; his ancestors perished in the Flood, and no tradition hereof being preserved in the Chinese annals, Noah, or Fohi, stands there as if he had no father at all. Secondly, Fohi's mother is said[r] to have conceived him encompassed with a rainbow; a conceit very probably arising from the rainbow's first appearing to Noah, and the Chinese being willing to give some account of his original. Thirdly, Fohi is said[s] to have carefully bred seven sorts of creatures, which he used to sacrifice to the Supreme Spirit of heaven and earth: and Moses tells us[t] that Noah took into the ark, of every clean beast by sevens, and of fowls of the air by sevens: and after the Flood Noah built an altar, and took of every clean beast, and every clean

[q] Martinii Hist. Sinica, p. 21. [r] Id. ibid.
[s] Le Compte. Mem. of China. p. 313.
[t] Gen. vii. & viii.

fowl, and offered burnt offerings. Fourthly, the Chinese derive the name of [u] Fohi from his oblation; and Moses gives Noah his name upon account of the grant of the creatures for the use of men, which he obtained by his offering. Lastly, the Chinese history supposes Fohi to have settled in the province of Xeusi, which is the north-west province of China, and near to Ararat, where the ark rested. But, sixthly, the history we have of the world does necessarily suppose, that these eastern parts were as soon peopled, and as populous as the land of Shinaar. For in a few ages, in the days of Ninus and Semiramis, about three hundred years after the dispersion of mankind, the nations that came of that dispersion attacked the inhabitants of the East with their united force; but found the nations about Bactria, and the parts where we suppose Noah settled, fully able to resist and repel all their armies, as I shall observe hereafter in its proper place. Noah, therefore, came out of the ark near Saga Scythia, on the hills beyond Bactria, north of India. Here he lived, and settled a numerous part of his posterity, by his counsels and advice. He himself planted a vineyard, lived a life of retirement, and after having seen his offspring spread around him, died in a good old age. It were much to be wished that we could attain a thorough insight into the antiquities and records of these nations, if there be any extant. As they spread down to India

[u] Couplet's Confutius. Procem. p. 38. 76.

south, and farther east into China; so it is probable they also peopled Scythia, and afterwards the more Northern continent; and if America be any where joined to it, perhaps all that part of the world came from these originals. But we must now speak of that part of Noah's descendants which travelled from the East.

At what time these men left Noah, we are no where informed; probably not until the number of mankind was increased. Seventy years might pass, before they had any thought of leaving their great ancestor; and by that time mankind might be multiplied to hundreds, and they might be too many to live together in one family, or to be united in any scheme of polity, which they were able to form or manage; and so a number of them might have a mind to form a separate society, and to journey and settle in some distant country.

From Ararat to Shinaar is about twelve hundred miles. We must not, therefore, suppose them to have got thither in an instant. The nature of the countries they passed over, nay, I might say the condition the earth itself must then be in, full of undrained marshes and untracked mountains, over-run with trees and all sorts of rubbish of seventy or eighty years growth, without curb or culture, could not afford room for an open and easy passage to a company of travellers. Besides, such travellers as they, were not likely to press forwards with any great expedition; an undetermined multitude, looking for no particular place of habitation, were likely to fix in many, and to remove as they found inconveniences.

Let us, therefore, suppose their movements to be such as Abraham made afterwards, short journies, and abodes here and there, until in ten or twelve years they might come to Shinaar, a place in all appearance likely to afford them an open and convenient country for their increasing families.

And thus about eighty years after the Flood, according to the Hebrew computation, A. M.[v] 1736, they might come to the plain of Shinaar. They were now out of the narrow passages and fastnesses of the mountains, had found an agreeable country to settle in, and thought here to fix themselves and their posterity. Ambition is a passion extremely incident to our first setting out in the world—no aims seem too great, no attempts above or beyond us. So it was with these unexperienced travellers, who had no sooner determined where to settle, but they resolved to make the place remarkable in all ages, to build a tower which should be the wonder of the world, and preserve their names to the end of it. They set all hands to the work, and laboured in it, it is thought, for some years; but, alas! the first attempt of their vanity and ambition, became a monument of their folly and weakness. God confounded their language in the midst of their un-

[v] According to the fragment in Eusebius in Chron. they began to build their tower A. M. 1736; αρξαμενοι (he says βψλϛ ετει οικοδομειν τον πυργον, in which number there is an evident mistake, β instead of α, it should be αψλϛ.

dertaking, and hereby obliged them to leave off their project, and to separate from one another. If we suppose them to spend nineteen or twenty years in settling and building, before their language was confounded; the division of the earth must be placed A. M. 1757, about one hundred and one years after the Flood, when Peleg the son of Eber was born; for the name Peleg was given him, because [w] *in his time the earth was divided.* And thus we have brought the history of mankind to a second great and remarkable period. I shall carry it no further in this book, but only add some account of the nature and origin of language in general, and of the confusion of it here spoken of.

First, it will, I think, be allowed me, that man is the only creature in the world who has the use of language. The fables we meet in some ancient writers, of the languages of beasts and birds, and particularly of elephants, are but fables.[x] The creatures are as much beneath speaking, as they are beneath reasoning. They may be able to make some faint imperfect attempts towards both; they may have a few simple

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[w] Gen. x. 25.

[x] The author of the latter Targum upon Esther reports, that Solomon understood the language of the birds, and sent a bird with a message to the Queen of Sheba; and Mohammed was silly enough to believe it, for we have much the same story in his Alcoran. See Walton Prolegom. 1, sect. 5.

ideas of the things which concern them; and they may be able to form a few sounds, which they may repeat over and over, without variation, to signify to one another what their natural instincts prompt them to; but what they can do of this sort is not enough for us to say they have the use of language. Man, therefore is, properly speaking, the only conversible creature in the world. The next enquiry must be, how he came to have this ability?

There have been many writers who have attempted to account for the original of language. Diodorus Siculus[y] and Vitruvius,[z] imagined that men at first lived like beasts, in woods and caves, forming only strange and uncouth noises, until their fears caused them to associate together; and that upon growing acquainted with one another, they came to correspond about things, first by signs, then to make names for them, and in time to frame and perfect a language; and that the languages of the world are therefore divers, because different companies of men happening thus together, would in different places form different sounds or names for things, and thereby cause a different speech or language about them. It must be confessed that this is an ingenious conjecture, and might be received as probable, if we were to form our notions of the origin of mankind, as these men did from our own, or other people's fancies. But since we have a history[a] which informs us that the begi-

[y] Hist. Lib. 1. [z] Architec. lib. 2. c. 21.

[a] Viz. that of Moses.

ning both of mankind and conversation were in fact otherwise; and since all that these writers have to offer about the origin of things, are but very trifling and inconsistent conjectures; we have great reason with Eusebius,[b] to reject this their notion of the origin of language, as a mere guess, which has no manner of authority to support it.

Other writers, who receive Moses's history, and would seem to follow him, imagine, that the first man was created not only a reasonable, but a speaking creature; and so Onkelos[c] paraphrases the words, which we render, *man was made a living soul*, and says he, was made, *(ruah memallela,)* a speaking animal. And some have carried this opinion so far, as not only to think that Adam had a particular language, as innate to him as a power of thinking, or faculty of reasoning; but that all his descendants have it too, and would of themselves come to speak this very language, if they were not put out of it in their infancy by being taught another. We have no reason to think the first part of this opinion to be true. Adam had no need of an innate set of words; for he was capable of learning the names of things from his Creator, or of making names for the things by his own powers, for his own use. And as to the latter part of it, that children would of course speak an innate and original language, if not prevented by education, it is a very wild and extravagant fancy.

[b] Euseb. de Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 7.

[c] See Targum in loc.

An innate language would be common to all the world; we should have it over [d] and above any adventitious language we could learn; no education could obliterate it; we could [e] no more be without it, than without our natural sense or passions. But we find nothing of this sort amongst men. We may learn (perhaps with equal ease) any language which in our early years is put to us; or if we learn no one, we shall have no articulate way of speaking at all; as [f] Psammiticus king of Egypt, and [g] Melabdin Echbar, in the Indies, convinced themselves by experiments upon infants, whom they took care to have brought up without being taught to speak, and found to be no better than mute creatures. For the sound [h] which Psammiticus imagined to be a Phrygian word, and which the children on whom he tried his experiment were supposed after two years nursing to utter, was a mere sound of no signification; and no more a word, than the noises which [i] dumb people often make, by a pressure and opening of their lips; and sometimes accidentally children make it, of but three months old.

Other writers have come much nearer the truth, who say, that the first man was instructed to speak

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[d] Franc. Vales. de Sacra Philos. c. 3.

[e] See Mr. Lock's Essay, B. i.

[f] Herod. l. 2. [g] Purchas. B. 1. c. 8.

[h] The second was Bec, supposed to be like the Phrygian word for bread.

[i] Postellus de Origin.

by God, who made him; and that his descendants learned to speak by imitation from their predecessors; and this I think is the very truth, if we do not take it too strictly. The origin of our speaking was from God; not that God put into Adam's mouth the very sounds which he designed he should use as the names of things; but God made Adam [k] with the powers of a man. He had the use of an understanding, to form notions in his mind of the things about him; and he had a power to utter sounds, which should be to himself the names of things, according as he might think fit to call them. These he might teach Eve, and in time both of them teach their children; and thus begin and spread the first language of the world. The account which Moses gives of Adam's first use of speech, is entirely agreeable to this;[l] *And out of the ground the LORD God formed every beast of the field, and every fowl of the air, and brought them unto Adam, to see what he would call them; and whatsoever Adam called every living creature, that was the name thereof. And Adam gave names to all cattle.* God is not here said to have put the words into Adam's mouth; but only to have set the creatures before him, to put him upon using the power he had, of making sounds to stand for their names. It was Adam who gave the names, and he had only to fix to himself what sound was to stand for the name of

[k] In this sense the author of Ecclesiasticus conceived man to be endued with speech from God. Chap. xvii. ver. 5.

[l] Gen. ii. 19, 20.

each creature, and what he so fixed, that was its name.

Our next enquiry shall be, of what sort, and what was this first language thus made. But, before we can determine this matter, it will be proper to mention the qualities which, very probably, belonged to the first language.

1. The original language must consist of very simple and uncompounded sounds. If we attend to a child in its first essays towards speech, we may observe its noises to be a sort of monosyllables, uttered by one expression of the voice, without variation or repetition; and such were, probably, the first original words of mankind. We do not think the first man laboured under the imperfection of a child, in uttering the sounds he might aim at; but it is most natural to imagine, that he should express himself in monosyllables. The modelling the voice into words of various lengths and disjointed sounds, seems to have been the effect of contrivance and improvement; and was probably begun, when a language of monosyllables was found too scanty to express the several things which men in time began to want to communicate to one another. If we take a view of the several languages in the world, we shall allow those to have been least polished and enriched, which abound most in short and single words; and this alone would almost lead us to imagine, that the first language of mankind, before it had the advantage of any refinement, was entirely of this sort.

2. The first language consisted chiefly of a few names for the creatures and things that mankind had to do

with. Adam is introduced as making a language, by his naming the creatures which were about him. The chief occasion he had for language was perhaps to distinquish them in his speech from one another; and when he had provided for this, by giving each a name, as this was all he had a present occasion for; so this might be all the language he took care to provide for the use of life: or if he went further, yet,

3. The first language had but one part of speech. All that the first men could have occasion to express to one another, must be a few of the names and qualities and actions of the creatures or things about them; and they might probably endeavour to express these by one and the same word. The Hebrew language has but few adjectives; so that it is easy to see how the invention of a few names of things, may express things and their qualities. The name *man*, joined with the name of some fierce beast, as *lion-man*, might be the first way of expressing a fierce man. Many instances of the same sort might be named; and it is remarkable, that this particular is extremely agreeable to the Hebrew idiom. In the same manner the actions of men or creatures might be described; the adding to a person's name, the name of a creature, remarkable for some action, might be the first way of expressing a person's doing such an action; our English language will afford one instance, if not more of this matter. The observing and following a person where-ever he goes, is called *dogging*, from some sort of dogs performing that action with great exactness; and therefore Cain dog Abel, may

give the reader some idea of the original method of expressing Cain's seeking an opportunity to kill his brother, when the names of persons and things were used to express the actions which were done, without observing any variation of mood and tense, or number, or person, for verbs, or of case for nouns.

4. For all these were improvements of art and study, and not the first essay and original production. Time and observation taught men to distinguish language into nouns and verbs; and afterwards made adjectives, and other parts of speech. Time and contrivance gave to nouns their numbers; and in some languages, a variety of cases, which varied verbs by mood, tense, number, person, and voice. In a word, which found out proper variations for the words in use, and made men thereby able to express more things by them, and in a better manner, and added to the words in use new and different ones, to express new things, as a further acquaintance with the things of the world gave occasion. And this will be sufficient to give the reader some ground to form a judgment about the languages; and to determiue which is the most likely to have been the first and original one of mankind. Let us now see how far we can determine this question.

The writers who have treated this subject, bring into competition the Hebrew, Chaldean, Syrian, or Arabian; some one or other of these is commonly thought the original language. But the arguments for the Syrian and Arabian are few and trifling. The Chaldean tongue is indeed contended for by

very learned writers: Cambden [m] calls it the mother of all languages; and Theodoret, amongst the fathers, was of the same opinion. Amira [n] has made a collection of arguments, not inconsiderable, in favour of it; and Myricæus,[o] after him did the same. Erpenius [o] in his oration for the Hebrew tongue, thought the arguments for the Hebrew and Chaldean to be so equal, that he gave his opinion no way, but left the dispute about the antiquity of these languages as he found it.

I am inclined to think, that if any one would take the pains to examine strictly these two languages, and take from each what may reasonably be supposed to have been improvements made since their original; he will find the Chaldean and Hebrew tongue to have been at first the very same. There are evidently, even still, in the Chaldean tongue, great numbers of words the same with the Hebrew; perhaps as many as mankind had for their use before the confusion of Babel; and there are many words in these two tongues, which are very different, but their import or signification is very often such, as may occasion us to conjecture that they were invented at, or since that confusion. The first words of mankind were, doubtless, as I have before said, the names of the common things and creatures, and of their most obvious qualities and actions, which men could not live without observing,

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[m] Britann. 204.

[n] In Præf. ad. Grammat. suam Syram.

[o] In Præf. ad Grammaticam suam Chaldaicam.

[p] Erpenius, in Orat. de ling. Heb. ait. adhuc sub judice lis est.

nor converse without speaking of. As they grew more acquainted with the world, more knowledge was acquired, and more words became necessary. In time they observed their own minds and thoughts, and wanted words to express these too; but it is natural to imagine that words of this sort were not so early as those of the other. And in these latter sort of words, namely, such as a large acquaintance with the things of the world, or a reflection upon our thoughts might occasion; in these the Chaldean and Hebrew language do chiefly differ, and, perhaps, few of these were in use before the confusion of tongues. If this observation be true, it would be to little purpose to consider at large the dispute for the priority of the Hebrew or Chaldean tongue. We may take either, and endeavour to strip it of all its improvements; and see whether in its first infant state, it has any real marks of an original language. I shall chuse the Hebrew, and leave the learned reader to consider how far what I offer may be equally true of the Chaldean tongue.

And if we consider the Hebrew tongue in this view; we must not take it as Moses wrote it, much less with the improvements or additions it may have since received; but we must strip it of every thing which looks like an addition of art, and reduce it, as far as may be, to a true original simplicity. And 1. all its vowels and punctuations, which could never be imagined until it came to be written, and which are in no wise necessary in writing it, are too modern to be mentioned. 2. All the prefixed and affixed letters were added in time, to express persons in a

better manner than could be done without them. 3. The various voices, moods, tenses, numbers and persons of verbs, were not original; but invented as men found occasion, for a greater clearness and copiousness of expression. 4. In the same manner, the few adjectives they have, and the numbers and regimen of nouns were not from the beginning. By these means we may reduce the whole language to the single theme of the verbs, and to the nouns or names of things and men; and of these I would observe, 1. That the Hebrew nouns are commonly derived from the verbs: and this is agreeable to the account which Moses gives of the first inventing the names of things. When Cain was to be named, his mother observed, that she had gotten a man from the LORD; and therefore called him Cain, from the verb, which signifies *to get*. So when Seth was to be named, she considered that GOD had appointed her another, and called his name Seth, from the verb, which signifies *to appoint*. When Noah was to be named, his father foresaw that he would comfort them, and so named him Noah, from the verb, which signifies *to comfort*. And probably this was the manner in which Adam named the creatures: he observed and considered some particular action in each of them, fixed a name for that action, and from that named the creature according to it. 2. All the verbs of the Hebrew tongue, at least all that originally belong to it, consist uniformly of three letters, and were perhaps at first pronounced as monosyllables; for it may be the vowels were afterwards invented, which dissolved some of the words into more syllables than one.

I am the more inclined to think this possible, because in many instances the same letter dissolves a word, or keeps it a monosyllable, according as the vowel differs, which is put to it. אֵן *aven*, is of two syllables, אוֹר *aour*, and אוּת *aouth*, are words of one; and many Hebrew words now pronounced with two vowels, might originally have but one, בָּרַךְ *Barak*, *to bless*, might at first be read, בְּרַךְ *Brak*, with many other words of the same sort. There are indeed several words in this language, which are not so easily reducible to monosyllables; but these seem to have been compounded of two words put together, as shall be observed hereafter. 3. Many of the nouns, which are derived from the verbs, consist of the very same letters with the verbs themselves; probably all the nouns did so at first, and the difference now in some of them, is owing to improvements made in the language. If we look into the Hebrew tongue in this manner, we shall reduce it to a very great simplicity; we shall bring it to a few names of things, men and actions; we shall make all its words monosyllables, and give it the true marks of an original language. And if we consider how few the radical words are, about five hundred, such a paucity is another argument in its favour.

But there are learned writers, who offer another argument for the primævity of the Hebrew tongue, namely, that the names of the persons mentioned before the confusion of Babel, as expressed in the Hebrew, bear a just relation to the words from whence they were derived; but all this etymology is lost, if you take them in any other language into which you

translate them. Thus the man was called Adam, use he was taken from the ground: now the He- word אדם Adam, is, they say, derived from *admah*, the ground. So again, Eve had her e because she was the mother of all living; and eably hereto חוה *chevah*, is derived from the verb *chajah*, to live. The name of Cain was so called, use his mother thought him gotten from the D; and agreeably to this reason, for his name קין , is derivable from קנה *kanah*, to get. The e might be said of Seth, Noah, and several other ds; but all this etymology is destroyed and lost, e take the names in any other language, besides original one in which they are given. Thus for ance, if we call the man in Greek, Ἀνθρ, or ρωπ, the etymology is none between either of e words, and γη, the earth, out of which he was en. If we call Eve, Εὐα, it will bear no relation ζην, *to live*; and Καιν, bears little or no relation any Greek word, signifying *to get*. To all this otius answers,[q] that Moses took an exact care, not use the original proper names in his Hebrew book; to make such Hebrew ones, as might bear the due tion to a Hebrew word of the same sense with the ginal word from whence these names were at first ived. Thus in Latin, *homo* bears as good a ation to *humus*, the ground, as Adam in Hebrew s to *Admah*; and therefore if Adam were translated *mo*, in the Latin, the propriety of the etymology

[q] In Gen. ii. et Not. ad lib. 1. de verit. n 16.

would be preserved, though the Latin tongue was not the language in which the first man had his name given. But how far this may be allowed to be a good answer, is submitted to the reader.

There is indeed another language in the world, which seems to have some marks of its being the original language of mankind, namely, the Chinese: the words of which are even now very few, not above twelve hundred; the nouns are but three hundred and twenty-six, and all its words are confessedly monosyllables. Noah, as has been observed, very probably settled in these parts; and if the great father and restorer of mankind came out of the ark and settled here, it is very probable that he left here the one universal language of the world. It might be an entertaining subject for any one who understands this language, to compare it with the Hebrew, to examine both the tongues, and strip each of all additions and improvements they may possibly have received; and try whether they may not be reduced to a pretty great agreement with one another. But how far this can be done, I cannot say. However, this I think looks pretty clear; that whatever was the original of the Chinese tongue, it seems to be the first that ever was in those parts. All changes and alterations of language are commonly for the better; but the Chinese language is so like a first and uncultivated essay, that it is hard to conceive any other tongue to have been prior to it. And since I have mentioned it, I may add, that whether this be the first language or not, the circumstance of this language's consisting of monosyllables, is a very considerable argument

that the first language was in this respect like it. For, though it is natural to think that mankind might begin to form single sounds first, and afterwards come to enlarge their speech by doubling and redoubling them; yet it can in no wise be conceived, that if men had at first known the plenty of expression, arising from words of more syllables than one, any person or people would have been so stupid as to have reduced their language to words of but one.

We have still to treat of the confusion of the one language of the world. Before the confusion of Babel, we are told that the *whole earth was of one language, and of one speech*. Hitherto the original language of mankind had been preserved with little or no variation, for near two thousand years together; and now, in a little space of time, a set of men, associated and engaged in one and the same undertaking, came to be so divided in this matter, as not to understand one another's expressions. Their language was confounded, that they did not understand one another's speech, and so were obliged to leave off building their city, and were by degrees scattered over the face of the earth.

Several writers have attempted to account for this confusion of language; but they have had little success in their endeavours. What they offer as the general causes of the mutability of language, does in no wise come up to the matter before us; it is not sufficient to account for this first and great variation. The general causes[r] of the mutability of language are

[r] Bodinus in Method. Hist. c. 9.

commonly reduced to these three. 1, The difference of climates. 2, An intercourse or commerce with different nations; or, 3, The unsettled temper and disposition of mankind.

1. The difference of climates will insensibly cause a variation of language; because it will occasion a difference of pronunciation. It is easy to be observed, that there is a pronunciation peculiar to almost every country in the world; and according to the climate, the language will abound in aspirates or lenes, guttural sounds or pectorals, labials or dentals; a circumstance which would make the very same language sound different from itself, by a different expression or pronunciation. The Ephramites,[a] we find, could not pronounce the letter *schin*, as their neighbours did. There is a pronunciation peculiar to almost every province; so that if we were to suppose a number of men of the same nation and language dispersed into different parts of the world; the several climates in which their children would be born, would so affect their pronunciation, as in a few ages to make their language very different from one another.

2. A commerce or intercourse with foreign nations does often cause an alteration of language. Two nations, by trading with one another, shall insensibly borrow words from each other's language, and intermix them in their own: and it is possible, if the trade be of large extent, and continued for a long time, the number of words so borrowed shall increase and spread far into each country; and both languages

[a] Judges xii. 6.

in an age or two be pretty much altered by the mixture of them. In like manner, a plantation of foreigners may by degrees communicate words to the nation where they come to live. A nation's being conquered, and in some parts peopled by colonies of the conquerors, may produce the same consequence; as may also the receiving the religion of another people. In all these cases, many words of the sojourners, or conquerors, or instructors, will insensibly be introduced; and the language of the country which received them, by degrees be altered and corrupted by them.

3. The third and last cause of the mutability of language, is the unsettled temper and disposition of mankind. The very minds and manners of men are continually changing; and since they are so, it is not likely that their idioms and words should be fixed and stable. An uniformity of speech depends upon an entire consent of a number of people in their manner of expression; but a lasting consent of a large number of people, is hardly ever to be obtained, or long to be kept up in any one thing; and unless we could by law prescribe words to the multitude, we shall never find it in diction and expression. Ateius Capito would have flattered Cæsar into a belief, that he could make the Roman language what he pleased; but Pomponius very honestly assured him he had no such power.[1] Men of learning and observation may think

[1] For this reason the great orator observes, usum loquendi populo concessi, scientiam mihi reservavi. Cic. de Oratore.

and speak accurately, and may lay down rules for the direction and regulation of other people's language; but the generality of mankind will still express themselves as their fancies lead them; and the expression of the generality, though supported by no rules, will be the current language; and hence it will come to pass, that we shall be always so far from fixing any stability of speech, that we shall continually find the observation of the poet verified:

Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus,
Quem penes arbitrium est et jus et norma loquendi.

Language will be always in a fluctuating condition, subject to a variety of new words and new expressions, according as the humour of the age, and the fancies of men shall happen to introduce them.

These are the general reasons of the mutability of language; and it is apparently true, that some or other of these have, ever since the confusion of Babel, kept the languages of the world in a continual variation. The Jews mixing with the Babylonians, when they were[s] carried into captivity, quickly altered and corrupted their language, by introducing many Syriacisms and Chaldeisms into it. And afterwards, when they became subject to the[t] Greeks and Romans, their language became not only altered, but as it were

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[s] Walton Prolegom. [t] Id. ibid.

lost, as any one will allow, who considers how vastly the old Hebrew differs from the rabinnical diction, and the language of the Talmuds. The Greek tongue in time suffered the same fate; and part of it may be ascribed to the Turks over-running their country, and part of it to the translation of the Roman empire to Constantinople. But some part of the change came from themselves; for, as Breerwood has observed, they had changed many of their ancient words, long before the Turks broke in upon them; of which he gives several instances out of the books of Cedrenus, Nicetas, and other Greek writers.[r]

The numerous changes which the Latin tongue[s] has undergone, may be all accounted for by the same reasons. They had in a series of years so diversified their language, that the Salian verses composed by Numa, were scarcely understood by the priests in Quintilian's time; and there were but few antiquaries within about three hundred and fifty years, who could read and give the sense of the articles of treaty between Rome and Carthage, made a little after the expulsion of the kings. The laws of the twelve tables, collected by Fulvius Ursinus, and published in the words of the kings and decemviri who made them, are a specimen of the very great alteration which time introduced into the Latin tongue. Nay, the pillar in the capitol, erected in honour of Drusillus, about one hundred and fifty years before Cicero,

[r] Walton in Prolegom. de linguarum natura, &c.

[s] Id. ibid.

shews, that even so small a space of time as a century and half, caused great variations. After the Roman tongue attained the height of its purity, it quickly declined again and became corrupted; partly from the number of servants kept at Rome, who could not be supposed to speak accurately, and with judgment; and partly from the great concourse of strangers, who came from the remote provinces, so that the purity of it was in a great degree worn off and gone, before the barbarisms of the Goths quite extinguished it.

And what has thus happened in the learned languages, is equally observable in all the other languages of the world: time and age varies every tongue on earth. Our English, the German, French, or any other, differs so much in three or four hundred years, that we find it difficult to understand the language of our forefathers; and our posterity will think ours as obsolete, as we do the speech of those who lived ages ago. And all these alterations of the tongues may, I think, be sufficiently accounted for by some or other of the causes before assigned; but none of them shews how or by what means the confusion at Babel could be occasioned. Our builders had travelled from their ancestors many hundred miles, from Ararat to Shinaar; the climates may differ, and suppose we should imagine the country to affect the pronunciation of the children born in it, yet still it will be hard to say that this should cause confusion: for since they were all born in or near the same place, they would be all equally affected, and speak all alike. Besides, a difference of pronunciation causes difficulties only where persons come to converse, after

ving at a distance from one another. An imperfection in our children's speech, bred up under our ring, would be observed from its beginning, grow miliar to us as they grew up, and the confusion occasioned by it would be very little. And as to any ommerce with other nations, they had none; they vere neither conquered, nor mingled with foreigners; o that they could not learn any strange words this vay. And though there have been many changes of anguage from the variation of men's tempers; these we ind have been frequent since this first confusion, but ow or why they should arise at this time, is the quesion. Language was fixed and stable, uniformly the ame for almost two thousand years together; it was ow some way or other unfixed, and has been so ever ince. Some considerable writers seem to acknowedge themselves puzzled at this extraordinary accilent. The confusion of tongues could not come from nen, says St. Ambrose;[a] for why should they incline o do such mischief to themselves, or how could they nvent so many languages as are in the world? It could not be occasioned by angels, good or bad, says Origen,[b] and the Rabbins,[c] and other writers,[d] for they have not power enough to do it. The express words of Moses, *Go to, let us go down and confound*

[a] Thes. Ambros. de causis mutationis linguarum.

[b] Origen. Homil. 11.

[c] Jonath. & al. in Gen. xi. 7, 8.

[d] See Luther in Gen. xi. Corn. a Lapide in Gen. xi.

their language; and again, *the Lord did confound the language of the earth,* says Bishop Walton,[e] imply a deliberate purpose of God himself to cause this confusion, and an actual execution of it. And the way in which it was performed, says the learned Bochart,[f] immediately, and without delay, proves it the immediate work of God, who alone can instantly effect the greatest purposes and designs. Several of the Rabbins have enquired more curiously into the affair; but I fear the account they have given of it is poor and trifling. Buxtorf has collected all their opinions; but they seem to have put him out of humour with the subject, and to occasion him to conclude in the words of Mercerus, "There is no reason to enquire too curiously into this matter: it was effected instantly in a way and manner of which we can give no account: we know many things were done; but how they were done, we cannot say. It is a matter of faith."

The builders of Babel were evidently projectors; of which their designed tower is a proof; and if they had one project, and that an idle one, why might they not have others? Language was but one, until they came to multiply the tongues; but that one was without doubt scanty, fit only to express the early thoughts of mankind, who had not yet subdued the world, nor arrived at a large and comprehensive acquaintance with the things in it. There had passed but eight or nine generations to the building of Babel;

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[e] Prolegom. [f] Geograph. Sac. p. 1. lib. 1. c. 15.

and all of them led a plain uncultivated method of living. But men now began to build towers, to open to themselves more extensive views, and consequently greater scenes of action than their ancestors had pursued. And why may not the thoughts of finding new names for those things which their enlarged notions offered to their consideration, have now arisen? GOD is said to have sent down, and confounded their language; but it is usual to meet with things spoken of as immediately done by GOD, which were effected, not by an extraordinary miracle, but by the course of things permitted by him, to work out what he would have done in the world. Language was without doubt enlarged at some particular time; and if a great deal of it was attempted at once, a confusion would naturally arise from it. When Adam gave the first names to things, he had no one to contradict him; and so what he named things, that was the name of them; for how should his children refuse to call things, what he taught them from their infancy to be the names of them? And indeed Adam's life, and the lives of his immediate children, reached over so great a part of the first world, that it is hard to conceive men could vary their speech much, whilst under the immediate influence of those who taught them the first use of it. But the men of Shinaar had got away from their ancestors, and their heads were full of innovations; and the projectors being many, the projects might be different, and the leading men might make up several parties amongst them. If we suppose the whole number of them to be no more than a thousand; twenty or thirty persons endeavouring to invent new

words, and spreading them amongst their companions, might in time cause much confusion. It does, indeed, look more like a miracle, to suppose the confusion of tongues effected instantly—in a moment; but the text does not oblige us to think it so sudden a production. From the beginning of Babel to the dispersion of the nations, might be several years; and perhaps all this time a difference of speech was increasing, until at length it came to such a height, as to cause them to form different companies, and so to separate. The argument of St. Ambrose, that men would not do themselves such a mischief, is not a good one: for, First, Experience does not shew us, that the fear of doing mischief has ever restrained the projects of ambitious men. Secondly, We often see the enterprizes of men run to greater lengths than they at first designed; and in time spreading so far, as to be out of the power and reach of their first authors to check and manage them. This is a method by which God often defeats the counsels, and controls the actions of men. Their own projects take unexpected turns, and they are often unable to manage the designs which they themselves first set on foot; nay, they are many times defeated and confounded by them. And thirdly, I do not see any mischief which arose, even from the confusion of language. It would have been inconvenient for men to be always bound up within the narrow limits of the first scanty and confined language; and though the enlarging speech happened to scatter men over the face of the earth; it tended to the public good that they should be so scattered.

If I may be indulged in one conjecture more, I

would offer, that at this time the use of words of more syllables than one began amongst men; for we find that the languages which most probably arose about this time, do remarkably differ from the most ancient Hebrew, in words of a greater length than the original Hebrew words seem to have been. The Chaldean words are many times made different from the Hebrew, by some final additions; and the words in that language, which differ from the Hebrew, are generally of more syllables than the old Hebrew Radicals. The Syrian, Egyptian, and Arabian tongues do, I think, afford instances of the same sort; and the more modern tongues, as the Greek and Latin, which probably arose by some refinements of these, have carried the improvement further, and run into more in number, and more compounded polysyllables. Whereas, on the contrary, the languages of a more barbarous and less cultivated original, keep a nearer resemblance to the peculiar quality of the first tongue, and consist chiefly of short and single words. Our English language is now smoothed and enriched to a great degree, since the studies of polite literature have spread amongst us: but it is easy to observe, that our tongue was originally full of monosyllables; so full, that if one were to take pains to do it, we may speak most things we have to speak of, and at the same time scarce use a word of more syllables than one. But I pretend to hint at these things only as conjectures. The reader has my full consent to receive or reject them as he pleases.

There is one enquiry more about the languages of the world, which I would just mention, that is, how

many arose from the confusion of Babel? Some writers think Moses has determined this question, by giving us the names of the leading men in this affair. He has given us a catalogue of the sons of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, and told us, that by them was the earth divided, *after their families, lands, tongues, and nations*. But I think there is some difficulty in conceiving all the persons there mentioned to have headed companies from Babel; for it is remarkable, that they differ from one another in age, by several descents; and it is not likely that many of them could be at that time old enough to be leaders; nay, and certain from history, that some of them were not so, whilst their fathers were alive. Other writers therefore have endeavoured to reduce the number to seventy, and[g] think that there were seventy different nations thus planted in the world, from the dispersion at Babel; and this notion they think is supported by the express words of Moses in another place.[h] *When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel*: i. e. say they, he divided them into seventy nations, which was the number of

[g] Many writers have been of this opinion, but the Greek fathers make the numbers seventy-two. Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1. Eusebius in Chron. l. 1. p. 11. Epiphanius adver. Hæres. l. 1. sec. 5. And the Latin fathers have followed them, Aug. de Civit. Dei. Prosper de vocat. Gentium, l. 2. c. 4. & alii.

[h] Deut. xxxii. 8.

the children of Israel when they came into Egypt. The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel very plainly favours this interpretation of the words of Moses; but the Jerusalem Targum differs from it. According to this, the number of nations were but twelve, answering to the twelve tribes of the children of Israel. But I should think that neither of the Targums express Moses's meaning. The people in the text, are not the whole dispersed number that were at Babel, but the inhabitants of Canaan; and the true meaning of the words of Moses is this, that when GOD divided to the nations their inheritance, when he separated the sons of Adam, he set the bounds of THE PEOPLE (i. e. which had Canaan, the designed inheritance of Jacob) according to the number of the children of Israel; i. e. he gave the Canaanites such a tract of land as he knew would be a sufficient inheritance for the children of Israel. And thus this text will in no wise lead us to the number of the nations that arose at Babel. That question is most likely to be determined by considering how many persons were heads of companies immediately at the time of the dispersion. One thing I would observe, that how few or how many soever the languages were now become; yet many of them, for some time, did not differ much from one another. For Abraham, a Hebrew, lived amongst the Chaldeans, travelled amongst the Canaanites, sojourned with the Philistines, and lived some time in Egypt; yet we do not find he had any remarkable difficulty in conversing with them. But though the difference of the tongues was small at first; yet, every language, after the stability of speech was lost, vary-

ing in time from itself, the language of different nations in a few ages became vastly different, and unintelligible to one another. And thus in the time of Joseph, when his brethren came to buy corn in Egypt, we find the Hebrew and Egyptian tongues so divers, that they used an interpreter in their conversation. The gradual decline of men's lives, from longer to shorter periods, without doubt contributed a great deal to daily alterations. For, when men's lives were long, and several generations lived together in the world, and men, who learned to speak when children, continued to speak to their children for several ages; they must have transmitted their language through many generations with little variation. But when the succession of mankind came on quicker, the language of ancestors was more liable to grow obsolete; and there was an easier opportunity for novelty and innovation to spread amongst mankind. Thus the speech of the world, confounded first at Babel, received in every age new and many alterations; until the languages of different nations came to be so very various and distinct from one another, as we now find them.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK III.

THE people at Shinaar, upon the confusion of their language, in a little time found it necessary to separate; and accordingly divided themselves under the conduct of the leading men amongst them. Some writers imagine, that they formed as many societies as Moses has given us names of the sons of Noah, Gen. x. for, say they, in the words of Moses, *These were the sons of Noah after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations; and by these were the nations divided in the earth after the Flood.* But, I think, this opinion cannot be admitted, for several reasons. 1, The dispersion of mankind happening about the time of Peleg's birth; and it is very plain that all the persons named by Moses, who must appear younger, or not much older

than Peleg, could not be heads of nations, or leaders of companies at this time; for they were but infants, or children; therefore the sons of Jocktan, who dwelt from Mesha to Sephar, had no hand in this dispersion; they were perhaps not born, or at most very young men. They must therefore be supposed to have settled at first under their fathers; in time each of them might remove with a little company, and so have a kingdom or nation descend from him.

2 None of the persons named by Moses, as concerned in the dispersion, both in the families of Japhet and Ham, were lower in descent than the third generation; they are either sons or grandsons of Japhet or Ham; as Gomer, and the sons of Gomer; Javan, and the sons of Javan; Cush, and the sons of Cush; Mizraim, and the sons of Mizraim. The descendants of these made a figure afterwards, as appears from the manner of mentioning a son of Casluhim, *out of whom came Philistim*; plainly intimating, that the person so named was a descendant of Casluhim, later than these days. And if this observation may be allowed in the family of Arphaxad; neither Salah nor Eber were leaders of companies at the confusion of tongues.

3. Not all the persons here mentioned, even of the third generation, were immediately heads of different nations, at the time of the dispersion; for Canaan had eleven sons, yet they did not immediately set up eleven nations, but *afterwards were the families of the*[a] *Canaanites spread abroad.* They at first lived

[a] Gen. x. 18.

together under their father, then afterwards separated, and in time became eleven nations in the land of Canaan. In the same manner, very probably, the sons of Aram lived under their father in Syria; and it is evident from the history of Egypt, that [b] Mizraim's children set up no kingdoms there during his life.

4. The same observation may be made in other families; and we may also consider, that sometimes some one of the children was the leader; and the father of the family, as well as the rest, lived in the society erected by him. Thus, for instance, we do not find that Cush was a king in any country; all the countries into which his children separated, came in time to be called after his name, as shall be observed hereafter: but the place where he himself lived was encompassed by the river Gihon,[c] and therefore most probably within the compass of his son Nimrod's dominions. The names of places do not always prove the persons whose names they bear, to have been kings in them, or to have first peopled them; for sometimes rulers named places after the names of their ancestors, and sometimes after the names of their children. The children of Dan named Leshem Dan, after the name of Dan their father;[d] and Kirjath-Arba was by Caleb called Hebron, after the

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[b] The word Mizraim is of the plural number, as are several other names here used by Moses; however, that I might not vary from the words of Moses, I have used them as singulars.

[c] Gen. ii. 13. [d] Joshua xix. 47.

name of Hebron his grandson.[e] 5. The number of mankind at this time, is a good proof, that all the persons named by Moses could not be leaders of companies, and planters of nations, at the dispersion from Babel; for at the birth of Peleg, the men, women, and children at Shinaar could not be more in number than one thousand five hundred; and not above five hundred of them of the age of thirty years. Such a body cannot be conceived sufficient to afford people for sixty or seventy kings to plant nations with, in several distant parts of the world; they would not, at this rate, have had above one or two and twenty men, women, and children, in a kingdom.

6. But the manner in which mankind were dispersed, is a farther proof that they did not go forth at first in many companies, to plant different nations; for if we consider the situation of the nations which were named after these men; we shall find, that notwithstanding all the confusion of tongues, and diversity of their language; yet it so happened in their dispersion from one another, that, except three or four instances only, the sons of Japhet peopled one part of the world, the sons of Shem another, and the sons of Ham a third. Their families were not scattered here and there, and intermingled with one another; as would very probably have happened, if sixty or seventy different languages had immediately arisen amongst them, and caused them to separate in so many companies, in order to plant each a country,

[e] Judges i. 10. 1 Chron ii. 42.

to be inhabited by as many as agreed in the same expression. If, at the first confusion of tongues, the sons of Shem had differed from the sons of Shem; and the sons of Ham from the sons of Ham; and the children of Japhet from their brethren; each one speaking a language of his own; the dispersion would in no wise have been so regular as we shall find it. Each leading-man must have taken his own way, and the several branches of each family must have been scattered here and there; as the accidental travels of their leaders might happen to have carried them. Nothing less than a very extraordinary miracle could have sorted them, as it were, and caused the children of each family to sit down round about and near to one another.[f]

From all these considerations, therefore, I imagine that the common opinion about the dispersion of mankind, is a very wrong one. The confusion of tongues arose at first from small beginnings, increased gradually, and in time grew to such a height, as to scatter mankind over the face of the earth. When these men came first to Babel, they were but few; and very probably lived together in three families, sons of

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[f] The writers upon this subject generally suppose this particular to have been the effect of a miracle; but I think it may be better accounted for in a natural way; and the advice of the poet to the writers of his times, is not impertinent to the readers even of the inspired books;

> Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus
> Inciderit.

Shem, sons of Ham, and sons of Japhet; and the confusion arising from some leading-men in each family inventing new words, and endeavouring to teach them to those under their direction; this in a little time divided the three families from one another. For the sons of Japhet affecting the novel inventions of a son of Japhet; the sons of Ham affecting those of a son of Ham; and the sons of Shem speaking the new words of a son of Shem; a confusion would necessarily arise, and the three families would part; the instructors leading off all such as were initiated in their peculiarities of speech. This might be the first step taken in the dispersion of mankind: they might at first break into three companies only; and when this was done, new differences of speech still arising, each of the families continued to divide and subdivide amongst themselves, time after time, as their numbers increased, and new and different occasions arose, and opportunities offered; until at length there were planted in the world, from each family, several nations called after the names of the persons of whom Moses has given us a catalogue. This I think is the only notion we can form of the confusion and division of mankind, which can give a probable account of their being so dispersed into the world, as to be generally settled according to their families; and the tenth chapter of Genesis, if rightly considered, implies no more. For the design of Moses in that chapter was, not to determine who were the leading men at the confusion of tongues; but only to give a catalogue or general account of the names of the several persons descended from each of Noah's chil-

dren, who became famous in their generations; not designing to pursue more minutely their several histories. Such accounts of families as this, are frequent in the Old Testament. We meet another of them,[s] where Moses mentions Esau's family. He gives a catalogue of their names, and adds, *these be the dukes of Edom according to their habitations in the land of their possession.*[h] Not that the descendants of Esau were thus settled in these habitations at the time of Isaac's death, which is the place where Moses inserts his account of them; for at that time *Esau took his wives, and his sons, and his daughters, and went into the country from the face of his brother Jacob, and he went and dwelt in Mount Seir.*[i] They lived all together in the family of Esau, during the term of his life: when he died, then they might separate, and in time become dukes and governors, according to their families, after their places, and by their names mentioned in this catalogue; and this probably not all at once, immediately upon Esau's death. For it seems most reasonable to imagine that at his death they might divide into no greater number of families, than he had children; though afterwards his grandsons set up each a family of his own, when they came to separate from their father's house. In this manner the earth was divided by the several sons of Noah, mentioned Genesis x. *After their families,*

[s] Gen. xxxvi. [h] Ver. 43.
[i] Ver. 6. & 8.

after their tongues, in their lands, and after their nations. Not that the persons there mentioned were all at one time planters of nations; but only, that there were so many persons of figure descended from the sons of Noah, who, some at one time, and some at another, became heads of nations, or had nations called by their names, by their descendants; and so, by them *the nations were divided*,[k] i. e. the people were broken into different nations on the earth; not at once, or immediately upon the confusion, but at several times, as their families encreased and separated, after the Flood. This account will reconcile what I before observed, that the dispersion of mankind happened about the time of the birth of Peleg, with the fragment in Eusebius, which seems to place it thirty years after. For, according to Eusebius, they continued[l] building their tower for forty years; but the birth of Peleg was about ten years after their beginning it. The confusion of language, therefore, and the dispersion of mankind, were not effected all at once; they began at the birth of Peleg, but were not completed until thirty years after; some companies separating and going away one year, and some another; and thus Ashur did not go away at first, but lived some time under Nimrod.[m]

The authors who have treated of this subject, en-

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[k] Gen. x. 32.

[l] Εμειναν οικοδομουντες επι ετη μ. Euseb. in Chron.

[m] Gen. x. 11.

avour to determine, what particular countries were anted by these men; and the substance of what ey offer is as follows.

Noah had[n] three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japhet: e eldest of the three was Japhet. For, first, Ham, Canaan, *i. e.* the father of Canaan, was his young- t son, for so he is called by Moses.[o] *And Noah oke from his wine, and knew what his younger n had done unto him, and he said—Cursed be naan*: i. e. considering the disrespect which his unger son Ham, or Canaan, had shewn him, he rsed him.* Secondly, Shem was Noah's second n; for Shem[p] was a hundred years old, and begat phaxad, two years after the Flood. Now Noah is five[q] hundred years old at the birth of his eldest n; but if Shem was no more than a hundred years d two years after the Flood, it is evident that Noah is five hundred and two years old at Shem's birth; d consequently that Shem was not his eldest son. hirdly, It remains, therefore, that Japhet was the lest son of Noah, and so he is called by Moses, en. x. 21.

Japhet is supposed not to have been present at the nfusion of Babel. Moses gives no account of his e or death; makes no mention at all of his name in e history of the nations which arose from Babel.

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[n] Chap. v. ver. 32. [o] Chap. ix. 24, 25.

* He only pronounced the curse prophetically. Edit.

[p] Chap. xi. 10. [q] Gen. v. 32.

So that, probably, he lived and died where his father Noah settled after the Flood. The descendants of Japhet who came to Shinaar, and were heads of nations, at, or some time after the dispersion of mankind, were Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Mesech, Tubal, Tiras, Askanez, Riphath, Togarmah, Elisha, Tarshish, Kittim, Dodanim. The countries which they fixed in were as follows:—Gomer, Tubal, Togarmah, Magog, and Mesech, settled in and near the north parts of Syria. The prophet Ezekiel, foretelling the troubles which foreign princes should endeavour to bring upon the Israelites, calls the nations he speaks of by their ancient original names, taken from their first founders or ancestors. Thus Gog, the king of Magog, is said[r] to be the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal. So that wherever these countries were, I think we may conclude, that the lands of Mesech, Tubal, and Magog, were near to one another; united in time under the dominion of a prince, called by the prophet Gog. And as we learn from Ezekiel, that these countries were contiguous; so if we consider that Hierapolis, or the present Aleppo, was anciently called Magog, this will intimate to us the situation of these nations. The name by which Lucian calls this city, is its common one, ἱερὰ πολις, or, the Sacred City; but he says[s] expressly, that anciently it was called by another name.

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[r] Ezek. xxxviii. 2.

[s] Lucian de Dâ Syriâ.

And Pliny [t] tells us what that ancient name was; the Syrians, he says, called it Magog. Maimonides [u] places Magog in Syria; and Bochart himself, though he would willingly plant Magog in Scythia,[x] acknowledges that Hierapolis had been named from him. We have therefore reason to think Magog the country, of which Aleppo was chief city, and the land of Mesech and of Tubal were adjacent to it. In these parts, therefore, Tubal, Mesech, and Magog fixed, and their lands were called after their names. The house of Togarmah is, in the same [y] chapter of Ezekiel, said to be of the north quarters. There were two remarkable powers prophesied of, who were to afflict the Israelites; and they are described in Scripture by *the kings of the North*, and *the kings of the South*. By the kings of the South, are meant the kings of Egypt; by the kings of the North, the kings of Syria. Togarmah of the north-quarters, therefore, is a country, part of Syria, very probably bordering upon Magog, which gives it a situation very fit for trading in the fairs of Tyre, with horses and mules, according to what the prophet [z] says of the Togarmians. Gomer and his bands seem [a] to be joined by the same prophet to Togarmah. We may therefore suppose his country to be adjacent.

Askenaz planted himself near Armenia; for the

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[t] Lib. v. cap. 23.

[u] In Halicoth therumoth c. 1. sec. 9.

[x] Phaleg. l. 1. c. 2.

[y] Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

[z] Ezek. xxvii. 14.

[a] Ezek. xxxviii. 6.

prophet Jeremiah, [b] speaking of the nations that should be called to the destruction or taking of Babylon, by the Medes under Cyrus, mentions Ararat, Minni and Askenaz. It is probable these three nations, thus joined together by the prophet, bordered upon one another; and since Minni is Armenia the Less, called Aram-minni; and Ararat the country in which the mountains of Ararat, or Taurus, take their rise; Askenaz must be some neighbouring and adjacent nation. It is observable from profane history, that Cyrus, before he shut up Babylon, in the siege in which he took it, after the conquest of Crœsus, king of Lydia, [c] by his captains subdued Asia Minor; and with part of his army under his own [d] conduct, reduced the nations of Upper Asia, and having settled them under his obedience, and very probably strengthened his army by levies of new soldiers [e] made amongst

[b] Jerem. li. 27.

[c] Xenophon Cyropæd. l. 7. Herodot. l. 1.

[d] Herod. l. 1.

[e] Bochart, in Phaleg. lib. 3. c. 9. endeavours to prove Askenaz to be Phrygia, from some particular levies which Hystaspes made there for the encrease of Cyrus's army; but as Cyrus made use of these for the conquest of many other nations, before he went back to Babylon, these levies cannot properly be said to have been raised for the siege of that city. It is more probable, that he strengthened his army in all countries he subdued; and as his last conquests before he went to Babylon were in Armenia, and

them, he entered Assyria, and besieged Babylon; and this was the calling Ararat, Minni, and Askenaz, to assist the Medes against Babylon, of which the prophet speaks.

Tarshish planted Cilicia; for the prophet Isaiah calls a country of this name to join in lamentation for the destruction of Tyre, Isaiah xxiii. And the country which the prophet thus calls upon, seems to lie over sea from Tyre,[f] and to be a frequent trader to Tyre,[g] and therefore not vastly distant, and to be a place of considerable shipping;[h] all which marks belonged, at the time of these descriptions, more evidently to Cilicia, than to any other nation of the world.

Kittim was the father of the Macedonians; for the destruction of Tyre, effected by Alexander of Macedon, is said to be of Kittim;[i] and Alexander himself is described, Alexander the son of Philip, who came out of the land of Kittim;[k] and the navy of Alexander is prophesied of, and called[l] *Ships that should come from Kittim*; and Perseus, the king of

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the parts adjacent, it was these nations he took with him to subdue Assyria.

[f] Isaiah xxiii. 6. [g] Ezekiel xxvii. 12.

[h] Isaiah xxi. 1 and 14. And the heathen writers represent the Cilicians as the ancient masters of the seas. See Strab. l. 14 and Solin. 41.

[i] Isaiah xxiii. 1. [k] 1 Macoab. i. 1.

[l] Numb. xxiv. 24.

Macedon, who was conquered by the Romans, is called, *the king of Kittims;*[m] and the Macedonian, or Greek shipping, which brought the Roman ambassadors to Egypt, are called *the ships of Kittim.*[n] Bochart[o] thinks that the ships here spoken of were ships of Italy; and from this text, and another or two, of which he evidently mistakes the true meaning, he would infer the land of Kittim to be Italy. But if we consider the words of Daniel,[p] we shall find the meaning of them to be this; that at the time appointed, the king of the North, *i. e.* Antiochus,[q] should return and come towards the South, *i. e.* towards Egypt; but it should not be as the former, or as the latter, *i. e.* his coming should not be successful, as it had once before been, and as it was again afterwards; for the ships of Kittim should come against him; the Roman ambassadors in ships of or from Macedonia should come against him, and oblige him to return home without ravaging or seizing upon Egypt. And it is remarkable,[r] that the circumstances of C. Popilius's voyage, who was the Roman ambassador here spoken of, give a reason for calling the ships he sailed in, ships of or from Kittim, or

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[m] 1 Maccab. viii. 5. [n] Dan. xi. 30.

[o] Bochart would render the Isles of Kittim (Ezek. xxvii. 6) Isles of Italy; but it is more probably rendered, Isles of Greece, or Macedon, *i. e.* Isles near Macedon, in the Ægean Sea.

[p] Dan. xi. 29, 30.

[q] See Dean Prideaux's Connection. [r] See Livy.

Macedonia; for his voyage from Rome was in this manner. He sailed into the Ægean sea, and designed before his embassy to have gone to Macedonia, where the consul was then engaged in war with Perseus; but the enemy having some small vessels cruising on those seas, he was induced for his safety to put in at Delos, and sent his ships with some message to the consul in Macedonia. He intended at first not to have waited the return of his ships, but to have pursued his embassy by the assistance of the Athenians, who furnished him with ships for the voyage; but before he set sail, his ships came back again, and brought news of Æmilius's conquest of Macedon; upon this he dismissed the Athenian ships, and set sail towards Egypt. And thus the ships which carried him to the finishing this embassy, came from Kittim, or Macedonia.

Elisha is thought to have planted some of the Cyclades in the Ægean sea; for the Cyclades are called by his name, by Ezekiel.[1] Blue and purple are said to be brought to Tyre, from the Isles of Elisha. In after-ages the best blue and purple were

[1] Ezek. xxvii. 7. Homer, Iliad. 4. mentions the Carians and Mæonians as the ancient dyers in purple; and perhaps here the family of Elisha might be first settled. Caria and Mæonia are two countries on the coasts of Asia, near the Ægean Sea. The ancients often called such countries, Isles, as bordered upon the sea, though they were really part of the Continent, especially if they usually sailed to them.

of the Tyrian dye; but in the earlier times it was brought to Tyre to be sold, from the Cyclades; and agreeably hereto, several authors, both poets and prose-writers, speak of a dye for purple found in the Grecian seas, and particularly among the Cyclades.[t] Javan is thought to have planted Greece; the LXX. were of this mind, and constantly translate the Hebrew word Javan, into Ἑλλας, or Greece. And the prophet Ezekiel represents the inhabitants of Javan to be considerable dealers or traders in persons of men.[u] And this agrees very remarkably with the Heathen accounts of Greece; for the generality of writers speak of the most elegant and best slaves as coming out of the several countries of Greece. Heliodorus[x] mentions two Ionian servants sent as presents to Theagenes and Chariclea. And in another place,[y] makes Cybele's cup-bearer to be a lass of Ionia. Ælian[z] supposes the cause of Darius's making war upon the Greeks, to be his wife Atossa's desire to have some Grecian maidens to attend her. And Herodotus reports the same fact,[a] and adds, that she persuaded her husband to turn his arms from the

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[t] Plin. l. 9. c. 36. Pausan in Laconicis. Id. in Phocicis. Horat. lib. 2. od. 18. Stat. l. 1. Sylv. 2. Juvenal Satyr. 8. Horat. lib. 4. od. 13. Vitruv. l. 7. c. 13.

[u] Ezek. xxvii. 13.

[x] Heliodor. l. 7.

[y] Id. l. 8.

[z] Ælian de Animal. l. 11. c. 27.

[a] Herodot. in Thalia.

Scythians upon the Greeks, in order to get her some servants out of some particular parts of Greece, where she heard there were very famous ones.—Claudian alludes to this request of Atossa.[b] And Martial[c] many times speaks in commendation of the Greek slaves.

Madai was very probably the father of the Medes; for the Medes are always called by this name.[d]

Tiras was the father[e] of the Thracians.

Riphath settled near the borders of Paphlagonia.

Where Dodanim settled is very uncertain. His name is also written[f] Rhodanim. And it is thought he planted Rhodes; though the arguments to support this opinion are very slender.

Shem was the second son of Noah. Moses has told us[g] how long he lived, and when he died; so that probably he lived amongst some of these nations. It is no where said where he lived; but some[h] writers

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[b] Claudian, lib. 2. in Eutrop.

[c] Epig. l. 4. 66. and l. 7. Epig. 79.

[d] Dan. v. 28. chap. vi. ver. 8, 12, 15. chap. viii. ver. 20. and Esther i. 3, 14, 18, 19. chap. x. ver. 2.

[e] Abrah. Zacuth. in lib. Jachusin f. 145. Joseph. Antiq. l. 1. c. 7. Euseb. in Chron. Eustath. in Hexaem, and al.

[f] 1 Chron. i. [g] Gen. xi.

[h] Targ. Jonathan and Targ. Hierosolym. and Midras Agada quam citat B. Selomo. et Cabbalistæ in Baalhatturim.

have imagined him to be Melchisedec, the king of Salem, to whom Abraham paid tythes, Gen. xiv. 20. Shem was, indeed, alive at that time,[1] and lived many years after; but there is no proof of his being king of Salem. It is not likely that he should reign king over the children of Ham. And Abraham's tythes were not paid to Shem, the ancestor and head of Abraham's family; but (according to Heb. vii. 6) to one of a different and distinct family; to one that was, says the sacred writer, ο μη γενεαλογημενος εξ αυτων, not of their descent or genealogy. The sons of Shem, were Elam, Ashur, Arphaxad, Lud, Aram.

Elam led his associates into Persia, and became the planter of that country; and agreeably hereto, the Persians are constantly called in Scripture [k] Elamites. Elam could at first people but a small tract of ground; but it seems as if he fixed himself near the place where the kings of Persia afterwards had their residence; for when the empire, which began at Elam, came to be extended over other countries, and to take a new name, and to be divided into many provinces, the head-province retained the name of Elam; thus the palace of Susa, or Shusan, was in the province of Elam.[l]

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[1] For Shem, who lived to be six hundred years old, lived thirteen years after the death of Sarah, and till Abraham was one hundred and fifty one years old.

[k] Isaiah xxi. 2. Jerem. xxv. 25. Acts ii. 9. and in al loc.

[l] Dan. viii. 2.

Ashur for some time lived under Nimrod, in the and of Shinaar; but afterwards removed with his ompany into Assyria, and built in time some cities here, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Calah, and Resen.[m]

Arphaxad lived at Ur of the Chaldees, which according to St. Stephen,[n] who supposed Abraham olive in Mesopotamia, before he lived at Haran) was ear to Shinaar and Assyria; but over the rivers, so as o be in Mesopotamia. Eber, the grandson of Arhaxad, had two sons, Peleg and Jocktan. Peleg vas born about the time of the confusion;[o] and when Jocktan came to be of years to head a company, he ed away part of this family to seek a new habitation. Jocktan had thirteen sons,[p] Almodad, Sheleph, Hazarmeveh, Jerah, Hadoram, Uzal, Dicklah, Obal, Abimael, Sheba, Ophir, Havilah, Jobab. These and their families spread, in time, from mount Mesha tomount Sephar, two mountains in the East.[q] There were nations in India, which took the names of some of these sons of Jocktan; namely, Ophir, whither Solomon sent for gold; and Havilah, on the bank of the river Ganges; and the Sabeans mentioned by Dionysius in his Periegesis. And some writers have imagined, that Sheba, Havilah, and Ophir, inhabited India; but it is much more probable that, as the sons of Jocktan spread from Mesha to Sephar, so their descendants might, in time, in after-ages, people

[m] Gen. x. 11, 12.
[n] Acts vii. 2.
[o] Gen. x. 25.
[p] Ver. 26—29.
[q] Ver. 30.

the countries fromSephar, until they reached to Ganges, and spread over into India. And the countries there planted might be called by the names of the ancestors of those who planted them; though the persons by whose names they were called, never lived in them.

The other branch of Arphaxad's family continued at Ur for three generations. In the days of Terah the father of Abraham, the Chaldeans expelled them their country, because they would not worship their gods.[r] Upon this they removed over Mesopotamia to Haran,[s] and here they continued until Terah died; and then Abraham, and Lot, and all that belonged to them, left the rest of their brethren at Haran, and travelled into Canaan.[t]

Lud is generally supposed to be the father of the Lydians in Lesser Asia. The name of Aram is constantly in Scripture, the name of Syria; thus Naaman the Syrian is called the Aramean;[u] thus the Syrian language is called the Aramean;[x] and the Syrians are called by this name in all places of Scripture wherever they are mentioned.[y] And they were known by this name to the ancient heathen writers. Syria, says Eusebius from Josephus, was called Aram; until in after ages it took another name, from one

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[r] Judith v. 8.
[s] Gen. xi. 31.
[t] Gen. xii. 5.
[u] 2 Kings v. 20.
[x] Ezra iv. 7, and Isaiah xxxvi. 11.
[y] See 2 Sam. viii. 5, & x. 6. 1 Kings xx. 20. 2 Kings v. 2. 1 Chron. xix. 10. & in mille al. loc.

yrus. And Strabo expressly says, that the peo-
le we now call Syrians, were anciently called
y the Syrians Aramenians, and Arameans. And
greeably hereto the adjoining countries, into which
ie posterity of Aram might spread, took the name
Aram, only with some other additional name
ined to it. Thus Armenia the Less came to be
lled Aramminni, or the little Aram. Mesopotamia
as named Padan-Aram, or the field of Aram; and
metimes Aram-Naharaim, or Aram of the rivers.
nd we find Bethuel and Laban,[a] the sons of Nahor,
ie descendant of Arphaxad, and not of Aram, are
lled Syrians, or Arameans, from their coming to
ve in this country. In what particular part of Syria,
ram settled himself, is uncertain; nor have we any
easons to imagine that his sons Hul, Mesh, or Gether,
ver separated from him. Nor is it certain that the
and of Uz, which the Prophet Jeremiah[a] makes
art of the land of Edom, and which was the land in
hich Job lived, seated near the Ishmaelites and Sa-
eans who robbed him, had its name from Uz the
on of Aram.

Ham was the youngest son of Noah. It is thought
hat he was at the confusion of Babel; and that after
nankind was dispersed, he lived in Canaan, says
urieu,[b] and was king of Salem; or, say other writers,
ie went into Egypt. Both these opinions are at best
ncertain. The reasons for the latter, that Egypt is

[a] Gen. xxv. 20.
[a] Lam. iv. 21.
[b] Critical Hist.

often called the land of Ham,[c] and that Ham, or Jupiter Ammon, was there worshipped, are not conclusive arguments that Ham himself ever lived there. The descendants of Ham might call the land of Egypt, when they came to dwell in it, after the name of their ancestor, in remembrance of him; as the children of Terah called the country they travelled into, when they left Ur, by the name of Haran.[d] Haran himself died in Ur[e] of the Chaldees, the land of his nativity; and, perhaps, his being dead occasioned his kindred to call that part of Mesopotamia, where they settled, the land of Haran, in remembrance of him. In like manner the descendants of Ham, when they came to look back to their ancestors, and to pay honours to the memory of such of them as had been of old famous in their generations; might place their great ancestor Ham at the head of their deities, though he had never lived among them. The sons of Ham were Cush, Mizraim, Phul, and Canaan.

Cush does not appear to have been a leader or a governor of any particular company. He had so much respect paid him, as to have a country called by his name, the land of Cush; but its situation was where his son Nimrod bore rule; for the land of Cush was at first within the compass of the river Gihon: for that river, says Moses,[f] compassed the whole land of Cush. Perhaps somewhere hereabouts Cush

[c] Ps. cv. 23, 27. Ps. lxxviii. 51, &c.
[d] Gen. xi. 31. [e] Ibid. ver. 28.
[f] Gen. ii. 13.

lived and died,[g] honoured by his sons, who were fond of calling their countries after his name; for we find the name Cush, though at first confined to a small tract of ground, was in time made the name of several countries. The children of Cush spread in time into several parts of Arabia, over the borders of the land of Edom, into Arabia Felix, up to Midian and Egypt; and we find instances in Scripture of all these countries being called by the name of the land of Cush.

I may here take notice of a very gross mistake, which runs through our English translation of the Bible. We constantly render the land of Cush, the land of Ethiopia; but there is not any one place in Scripture, where the land of Cush should be so rendered. By the land of Cush is always meant some part of Arabia; for there are some texts which cannot possibly have any meaning, if we render Cush, Ethiopia. But the sense of all is clear and easy, if we translate it Arabia. Thus, for instance, Ezekiel[h] prophesying of a desolation which God would bring upon all Egypt, says, that it should be utterly waste and desolate, *from the tower of Syene, even unto the*

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[g] According to the Persian and Arabian traditions, Cush lived at Erac, one of his son Nimrod's cities. Cush (id est Cutha) fuit rex territorii Babel et residebat in erac. Tabari. in cap. de morte Saræ. apud Hyde de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 40.

[h] Ezek. xxix. 10.

border of Cush. Now the tower of Syene stood upon the borders of Egypt, next to Ethiopia; Cush therefore, must be the opposite country on the other side of Egypt; for this only can make the Prophet intelligible, who meant from one side of Egypt to the other. Syene and Ethiopia join, and are contiguous, and therefore, from Syene to Ethiopia, are words of no meaning, or at most can be no description of Egypt; but must be an evident blunder and mistake of our translators.[i] And as this particular passage does clearly evidence Arabia to be the land of Cush; so all other places accord very well to this interpretation. We are told[k] that the Arabians near the Cushites joined with the Philistines against Jehoram. Now if these Cushites are the Ethiopians, Ethiopia being situate on the other side of Egypt, no Arabians could possibly live near them. The Cushites, therefore here spoken of, are the inhabitants of Arabia-Felix, where Dedan and Sheba, descendants of Cush, fixed

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[i] A very learned writer would correct this mistake in the following manner. The Hebrew word *migdol*, he says, which is translated *tower*, is the name of the city Magdolum, which was at the other entrance of Egypt from Palestine; and Siene was at the other end, and upon the borders of Ethiopia; but this correction, I think, cannot be admitted, for the Hebrew words are not מִגְדֹּל עַד־כּוּשׁ from Migdol to Sevenneh --- but מִגְדֹּל כּוֹשׁ וְעַד־נְבוֹל כּוּשׁ i. e. from Migdol Seveneh, or of Seveneh, even to the border of Cush.

[k] 2 Chron. ii. 16.

selves; and the Arabians bordering upon them, joined with the Philistines, were the Edomites had revolted lately from Jehoram, and who lay een the Philistines and these Cushites.

again, when Sennacherib king of Assyria was ng seige to Libnah, upon hearing that Tirhakah ng of Cush,[l] came out against him, he sent a atening message to Hezekiah, and prepared to t this new enemy. Our translation makes Tirha- a king of Ethiopia; but how unlikely is it, that ng living on the other side of Egypt should cross that country, and march an army four or five dred miles to assist the Jews? The seat of the war too distant for the king of Ethiopia to be so denly engaged in it. Some neighbouring prince, ose country bordered upon the nations attacked by nacherib, might think it advisable to raise an army his back, to check his conquests, lest himself in e should suffer from him. And such a neigh- ring prince was this king of Cush, a king of abia, whose country lay near to Ezion-Geber, and far from the borders of Judea. The learned Dr. deaux [m] makes Tirhakah an Ethiopian, kinsman the king of Egypt; and to make it probable that Ethiopian might be concerned in the war, he agines Tirhakah's army to march against Senna- rib, when he was besieging Pelusium, a city of

[l] 2 Kings xix. 9. [m] Con. vol. I. b. I.

Egypt. But this seems contrary to the history.[o] Sennacherib had been warring against Lachish, and was at Libnah when the rumour of Tirhakah's expedition reached him. Sennacherib's war with Egypt was over before this, and he had *done to Egypt all that his heart could desire*; had over-run the country, carried away captive all the inhabitants of No-Ammon, a great and strong city of Egypt; according to what the Prophet Isaiah had foretold,[p] and the Prophet Nahum observed[q] to the Ninevites. That Sennacherib's conquest of Egypt was over before he came to Lachish and Libnah, is evident; if we consider that after this he undertook no expedition. Upon hearing the rumour of Tirhakah, he decamped; and soon after GOD sent the blast upon him,[r] and destroyed his army; and then he was obliged to return home to his own land, and was there, some time after, murdered. And agreeably hereto, Rabshekah represents the king of Egypt as a bruised reed;[s] but a reed in his greatest strength, easy to be broken by the king of Assyria; and a bruised reed, already brought into a very distressed condition, by the victories his master had obtained over him.

Josephus[t] mentions this Tirhakah by the name of

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[o] See 2 King xix.
[p] Isaiah xx. 4.
[q] Nahum iii. 8.
[r] 2 Kings xix. 7.
[s] Ibid. xviii. 21.
[t] Joseph. Antiquit. l. 10. c. 1.

Tharsices, and supposes him to assist Egypt, and not the Jews, and to march his army when Sennacherib was engaged at Pelusium. But this is one instance where Josephus did not copy carefully from the Sacred pages. He was misled in this particular by Herodotus, whom he quotes in his relation of this story. However, the description which Josephus gives of Tirhakah's march through the desart of Arabia, into the territories of the king of Assyria, shews evidently that he was a king of Arabia, and not of Ethiopia. The king of Cush, therefore, was a king of Arabia. I may add further, that Egypt is described to lie beyond the rivers of Cush.[t] Now if Cush signifies Ethiopia, Ethiopia might possibly be said to lie beyond the rivers of Egypt; but Egypt cannot possibly be described to lie beyond the rivers of Ethiopia. But Cush here signifies Arabia; and the rivers of Arabia, beyond which Egypt is said to lie, are that which runs into the lake Sirbonis, commonly called the river of Egypt; and the river Sihor, mentioned Joshua xiii. 3. Again,[u] we are told that *Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses, because of the Cushite woman whom he had married, for he had married a Cushite woman.* We must not here render Cushite, Ethiopian, as our English translators do; for Moses never married one of that country. Rather the Cushite woman was Zipporah the Arabian, the daughter of Jethro the priest of

[t] Isaiah xviii. 1. [u] Numb. xii. 1.

Midian.[x] I might bring several other passages of Scripture to prove the land of Cush to be some or other of the parts of Arabia, where the descendants of Cush settled. In the later writings of the Scriptures, the name of Cush is given only to the parts remote and distant from Babylon; the reason whereof was, probably this: when the Babylonian empire began to flourish, the parts near Babylon acquired new names, and lost the old ones, in the great turns and revolutions of the empire. But the changes of names and places near Babylon, not affecting the countries that lay at a distance; the Prophets in after ages might properly enough give these the name of Cush, long after the places, near which Cush first settled, had lost all name and remembrance of him.

The sons of Cush were Seba, Havilah, Sabta, Raama, Sabtecha, Sheba, Dedan, and Nimrod. Nimrod reigned king at Babel, and built round him several cities, Erec, Achad, and Calneh.[y] Havilah lived within the branch of the river Pison, which ran out of the Euphrates into the bay of Persia; for the country of the Ishmaelites, which extended itself from Egypt in a direct line towards Babylonia, or Shinaar, is described to lie from Shur which is before Egypt, to Havilah.[z] Seba, Sabta, Raamah, Sabtecha, and their descendants and associates, peopled Arabia Felix. There are but slender proofs of the particular

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[x] Exod. ii. 21.

[y] Gen. x. 10.

[z] Chap. xxv. 10.

places where Seba, Sabta, and Sabtecha first settled. Pliny says, the Sabeans, inhabitants of Arabia, famous for their spicery, are a number of nations which reach from sea to sea, i. e. from the Persian gulph to the Red Sea. It is probable they entered the country near Havilah and Shinaar, and their first little companies took different paths in it; and whilst they were infant nations, they might live distinct and separate from one another; time and increase made them sufficient to fill and replenish it, and so to mingle with and unite to one another.

Raama, and his two sons Sheba and Dedan, peopled the parts adjacent to the Red-Sea. Sheba lived on the borders of the land of Midian; and hence it happened, that in after-ages a queen of this country, hearing of the renown of king Solomon, probably from his famous shipping at Ezion-Geber, on the borders of her kingdom, went to visit him.[a] Raama was near to Sheba, for they are mentioned as joint traders to Tyre in spicery, the noted product of those countries.[b] Dedan fixed on the borders of the land of Edom; for Ezekiel, prophesying of the land of Edom, and the parts adjacent, joins Dedan to it.[c] Mizraim was second son of Ham. His descendants were Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim, Philistim, Caphtorim. Mizraim became king of Egypt, which after his death was divided

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[a] 1 Kings x. [b] Ezek. xxvii. 22.
[c] Ibid xxv. 13.

into three kingdoms, by three of his sons. His sons names who settled here were Ananim, who was king of Tanis, or Lower Egypt, called afterwards Delta. Naphtuhim, who was king of Naph, Memphis, or Upper Egypt; and Pathrusim, who set up the kingdom of Pathros, or Thebes, in Thebais.

Ludim and Lehabim peopled Libya. The Prophet Ezekiel[d] speaking of the Libyans, whom he calls by their original name Lud, calls them a mingled people; perhaps hinting their rise from two origins. Libya seems rather derived from Lehabim, than Ludim, but we rarely find them called otherwise than Lud; they are, I think, once named from Lehabim 1 Chron. i. 11. People came out of Egypt, the Lubims. Casluhim, another son of Mizraim, fixed himself at Cashiotis, in the entrance of Egypt from Palestine. He had two sons, Philistim, and Caphtorim. Caphtorim succeeded him at Cashiotis. Philistim planted the country of the Philistines, between the border of Canaan and the Mediterranean Sea. Cashiotis was called Caphtor, from Caphtorim, the second prince of it; and the Philistines are said to have been of Caphtor,[e] because the place of their parent Casluhim was so called.

Phut was the third son of Ham. He was, I believe, planted somewhere in Arabia, near to Cush, not far from Shinaar, probably in the land of Havilah. For

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[d] Ezek. xxv. 5. [e] Amos ix. 7.

the Prophet Ezekiel, as the northern enemies of the Jews were put together, so also joins those that were to come from Babylon,[f] and makes them to be Persia, Cush, and Phut. Some writers have imagined that Phut planted Mauritania; but how then could he be neighbour to Cush or Persia? The Prophet Jeremiah, speaking of some nations that should overrun Egypt, calls them Cush, Lud, and Phut.[g] Now the nations which fulfilled this prophecy, were 1, Nebuchadnezzar with his army of Cushites and descendants of Phut; who were both then subject to the Babylonian empire, greatly ravaged and laid waste the land. And when he had executed his mind, then[h] Apries with some forces out of Libya, killed the king of Egypt, and finished the desolation. Agreeably therefore to what was before said, the Babylonians are called Cush and Phut, the descendants of Cush and Phut being part of their army; and Apries and his Libyan army are the men of Lud.

The fourth son of Ham was Canaan. His sons were Sidon, Heth, Jebusi, Emori, Gergasi, Hivi, Arki, Sini, Arvadi, Zemari, Hamathi. These peopled the land of Canaan.[i] Sidon fixed in Phoenicia, one of whose chief towns was called by his name. Arvad was neighbour to Sidon.[k] Heth lived near Gerar

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[f] Ezek. xxxviii. 5.
[g] Jerem. xlvi. 9.
[h] Prideaux Connect. b. ii. Herodot. l. 2.
[i] Gen. x. 18.
[k] Ezek. xxvii. 8.

towards Egypt.[l] Where the other sons of Canaan settled in this country, cannot be determined with any certainty and exactness; only we must place them somewhere between Sidon, and Gerar, and Admah, and Zeboim, and Lashah; for these places were, according to Moses,[m] the boundaries of their land.

This is the substance of what is offered by the best writers, about the first settlements after the dispersion of mankind. We must not pretend to affirm it in every tittle true; but the reader will observe that it is countenanced by arguments more favourable than any one, who never considered the subject, would expect to meet with for a fact, which happened so long ago, and but imperfectly described by the earliest writers. Josephus disperses these men and their families all over the world, into Spain and Italy; but we cannot possibly conceive mankind so numerous within one hundred and thirty years after the Flood, as to send out colonies enough to spread into nations so distant from the place where they dispersed. We see by all the mention we have of the names of any of these men in the books of the Old Testament, that they appear to have been first seated nearer to the land of Shinaar; and the utmost that can be proved from the arguments which some writers offer in favour of Josephus's remote plantations, will amount to no more than this, that the companies which at the first

[l] 2 Kings vii. 6.

[m] Gen. x. 19.

dispersing settled nearer home, did afterwards increase, and in time send forth colonies, which planted the more remote countries. I believe if an exact view was taken of all the several schemes offered upon this subject, all that are supported with any show of argument, might be reduced to a pretty good agreement with one another. For though there is not a full and absolute proof of any one scheme; yet all that can be offered in this matter has the same tendency to prove that the several parts of the world, except those only where we have supposed Noah to settle, and the plantations proceeding from them, were inhabited; and the inhabitants of them cultivated the use of letters, and other arts, sooner or later, in such a proportion of time as answers to their distance from the place which Moses calls the land of Shinaar. On the other hand, there are no broken stories, nor pieces of antiquity, in all the monuments of learning, sacred or profane, which either are, or are said ever to have been in the world, which make it seem probable, that mankind were first seated in any other place.

The account of the division of the earth, given us in the chronicon of Eusebius, is founded upon the supposition that Noah, some time before his death, sat down by divine appointment, and parted the world amongst his three children, ordering what regions the descendants of each of them should inhabit; but this being a mere fiction, no great regard can be paid to it. Noah never came into these parts of the

world at all, as has been observed already from several very probable arguments for his settling in a far distant place; and will be further evidenced hereafter, when I come to consider the maxims and polity upon which kingdoms were founded in the eastern parts, very different from those which the travellers from Shinaar adhered to, in their appointments of kings and governors.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK IV.

AFTER the separation of mankind, Nimrod became the head of those who remained at Shinaar. *Nimrod was a mighty hunter before the* LORD.[a] He taught the people to make up companies, and to chase and kill the wild beasts abounding in those parts; and from his gathering them together, and exercising them in bands for this purpose, he, by degrees led them on to a social defence of one another, and laid the foundation[b] of his authority and dominion. His kingdom began at Babel; and in time,

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[a] Gen. x. 9.

[b] In this manner the Persians fitted their kings for war, and for government, by hunting. See Xenoph. Cyropæd. l. 1.

as his people multiplied, he extended it further. Perhaps he found it inconvenient to have too large a number dwell together; a populous city would not be so easily influenced, as a small neighbourhood; for we cannot imagine that the first kings were able, either to make, or execute laws, with that strictness and rigour, which is necessary in a body of men so large, as to afford numerous offenders. For this reason it seems to have been a prudent institution of Nimrod, when his city Babel began to be too populous to be regulated by his inspection, and governed by his influence, to lay the foundations of other cities, Erec, Achad and Calneh. By this means he disposed of numbers of his people, and put them under the directions of such proper deputies as he might appoint over them; or perhaps, they, with his consent,[c] might chuse for themselves. And thus by degrees, he brought their minds to a sense of government; until the use of it came to be experienced, and thereby the force and power of laws settled and confirmed. Many of the fathers, and some later writers after them, represent Nimrod as a most wicked and insolent tyrant; and St. Austin in particular says, he was a mighty hunter; not as we translate it, *before*, or *in the presence* of the LORD, but *against* the LORD. It is very likely that Nimrod exercised his companions into some sort of skill in war; and having a mind to sit down with them at Shinaar, he obliged his

[c] Cush, the father of Nimrod, is thought to have been governor at Erec. Hyde. Rel. vet. Pers. p. 40.

brethren who would not come into his society, to remove, and provide other habitations for themselves. This might cause them to go away with ill notions of him, and occasion them to spread amongst their descendants the worst accounts they could give of his hunting, by which they were thus chased from their first dwellings. However, we do not find he waged any wars to enlarge his empire. Ninus, according to Justin, was the first that used an army with this view. Nimrod's government was extended no farther than the necessities or conveniences of his people required. His country was probably no more than the province of Babylonia. He began his reign Anno Mundi 1757, and it is thought he reigned about one hundred and forty-eight years, and so died Anno Mundi 1905.

Some time in Nimrod's reign,[d] Ashur, one of the descendants of Shem, led a number of men from Babel, who travelled under his conduct up the Tigris, and settled in Assyria, and laid the first foundation of Nineveh. Ashur governed them as Nimrod did the Babylonians; and as they increased, dispersed them in the country, and set them to build some little adjacent cities, Rehoboth, Resen, and Calah.

Belus succeeded Nimrod, and was the second king of Babylon. We are not told of what family he was; and perhaps he was not at all a-kin to his predecessor. Nimrod himself was no way by birth entitled to be king of Shinaar; nor have we any reason to imagine

[d] Gen. x. 11. Joseph.

that mankind, when they first formed larger societies than those of families, were directed by any thing in the choice of their kings, but the expectation of some public good to be promoted by them. The first civil polity was that of kings, according to Justin;[e] and the persons advanced to that dignity, were promoted to it not by a giddy ambition, but were chosen for their known abilities of wisdom and virtue.—Nimrod had convinced the people of the advantages of forming a larger society, than they had ever thought of before; and so the people, under a sense of the weight and wisdom of what he proposed, chose him, though a young man in comparison of many alive at that time, to rule and govern them, for the ends which he proposed to them; and when he died, Belus appeared to be the most proper person, and for that reason was appointed to succeed him. Belus was a prince of study; the inventor of the Chaldean astronomy, says Pliny.[f] He is thought to have spent his time in cultivating his country, and improving his people. He reigned sixty years, and died A. M. 1965.

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[e] Justin. l. 1. c. 1. and Diodorus Siculus was of the same opinion: his words are, Διο και το παλαιον παραδιδοσθαι τας βασιλειας μη τοις εκγονοις των αρξαντων, αλλα τοις πλειστα και μεγιστα το πληθει ευεργετησιν, ειτε προσκαλεμενων των ανθρωπων τας εφ εαυτων βασιλεις επι την κοινην ευεργεσιαν, ειτε και κατ αληθειαν εν ταις ιεραις αναγραφαις ουτω παρειληφοτων. Diodor. Sic. Hist. lib. 1. p. 28.

[f] Plin. lib. 6. c. 26.

Ashur, king of Nineveh, dying much about this time, Ninus became the second king of Assyria. Ninus was of an enterprizing and ambitious spirit. He began the first wars, and broke [g] the peace of the world. Babylonia was an adjacent country, too near him to lie out of his view and desires. He coveted to enlarge his empire; and having prepared his people for it, he easily over-ran his neighbours, who were employed in cultivating other arts, but were inexpert at war. He in a little time subdued the Babylonians. Diodorus Siculus [h] makes particular mention of this conquest of Babylonia, in words very agreeable to the circumstances of these times. "Ninus," says he, "the king of Assyria, assisted by a king of the Arabians, invaded the Babylonians with a powerful army. The present Babylon was not then built, but there were in the country of Babylonia other cities of figure. He easily reduced these his neighbours, who had no great skill in war, and laid them under tribute." After Ninus had subdued the Babylonians, he began to think of conquering other nations; and in a few years over-ran many of the infant states of Asia; and so by uniting kingdom to kingdom, he laid the foundation of the Assyrian empire. He was for ever restless and aspiring; the subduing one people led him on to attempt another; and the passions of men being then of the same sort they now are, every new victory carried him still forwards, without end, till he died.

[g] Justin. l. 1. c. 1. [h] Diodorus Siculus, l. 2.

His last attempt was upon Oxyartes, or Zoroastres, king of Bactria. Here he met a more powerful resistance than he had before experienced. After several fruitless attempts upon the chief city of Bactria, he at last conquered it, by the contrivance and conduct of Semiramis, a woman, wife of Menon, a captain in his army. The spirit and bravery of Semiramis so charmed him, that he fell in love with her, and forced her husband to consent to his having her for his wife, offering him in lieu of Semiramis, his own daughter. Ninus had a son by Semiramis, named Ninyas; and after a reign of two and fifty years, died A. M. 2017.

When Ninus was dead, Semiramis expressed in in her actions such a conduct, as made her appear the fittest person to command the new but large empire. Her son was but a minor, and during the latter part of Ninus's life, she had had so great a share in the administration, and always acquitted herself to the public satisfaction,[i] that there seems no need of the contrivance of personating her son, to obtain her the empire. Her advancement to it was easy and natural. When she took upon her to be queen, the public affairs were put in the hands into which Ninus when alive used generally to put them; and it is not likely that the

[i] Justin from Trogus Pompeius supposes her to have made use of this stratagem; but Diodorus Siculus, with more probability, ascribes her advancement to her conduct, bravery, and success in her undertakings.

people should be uneasy at her governing, who had for several years together by a series of actions, gained herself great credit and ascendancy over them; especially if we consider, that when she took up the sovereignty, she still pressed forward in a course of action, which continually exceeded the expectations of her people, and left no room for any to be willing to dispute her authority. Her first care was to settle and establish her empire. She removed her court from Nineveh to Babylon, and added much to that city; encompassed it with a wall, and built several public and magnificent buildings in it. And after she had finished the seat of her empire, and settled all the neighbouring kingdoms under her authority, she raised an army, and attempted to conquer India; but here again, as Ninus had before experienced, she found these eastern countries able to oppose her. After a long and dangerous war, tired out with defeats, she was obliged with the small remainder of her forces to return home. Some authors report that she was killed on the banks of Indus; but if she was not, her fruitless attempts there so consumed her forces, and impaired her credit, that soon after she came home, she found herself out of repute with her people, and so resigned her crown and authority to her son,[k] and soon after died. Thus lived and died the famous Semiramis, an early instance of what seems very natural, that an ambitious, but defeated prince

[k] Diodorus Siculus, lib. 2.

should grow sick of empire. Charles the Fifth, emperor of Germany, resigned his dominions in much the same manner, and grew disgusted with the pomp and greatness of the world, when his fortune turned, his designs were blasted, and he could not command his triumphs to wait on him any longer. Justin has accused Semiramis of lewdness and immodesty; and Diodorus Siculus is not favourable to her character, though he does not charge her with the same particulars as Justin does. It is not possible for us to determine whether she was guilty or innocent; however, we may observe, that whilst her enterprizes were crowned with fortune and success, she maintained herself in great credit and glory with her people; but she lived to find that a character so supported is at fatal uncertainties; an unhappy turn of affairs may quickly blast it, and make it difficult to go down with credit to the grave. Semiramis resigned her empire after she had reigned forty-two years, A. M. 2059.

Ninyas was the next king of the empire[1] of Assyria. He began his reign full of a sense of the errors of his mother's administration; and engaged in none of the wars and dangerous expeditions with which Semiramis seems to have tired out her people. Most writers represent him as a feeble and effeminate prince; but perhaps all these accounts of him arose from the disposition there is in writers, to think a turbulent and warlike reign, if victorious, a glorious one; and to overlook

[1] Justin. Diodorus Siculus.

an administration employed in the silent, but more happy arts of peace and good government. Ninyas made no wars, nor used any endeavours to enlarge his empire; but he took a due care to regulate and settle,[m] upon a good foundation, the extensive dominions which his parents had left him; and by a wise contrivance of annual deputies over his provinces, he prevented the many revolts of distant countries, which might otherwise have happened.—He is said to have begun that state which the eastern kings improved afterwards; was of difficult access, in order to raise himself a veneration from his subjects. We do not find but he had a happy reign. He transmitted his empire to his successors, so well ordered and constituted, as to last in the hands of a series of kings, of no extraordinary fame, above a thousand years. This I take to be the history of the Babylonian or Assyrian empire, for about three hundred years. It may be proper, before I proceed further, to make some remarks upon the affairs of the times we have gone over. And,

First, let us consider and settle the chronology. Nimrod, we say, began his reign A. M. 1757, *i. e.* a hundred and one years after the Flood, at the birth of Peleg, the time at which the men of Shinaar were first separated. At that time *Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth*,[n] *and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel*.[o] It is probable that he was not

[m] Diodorus Siculus.

[n] Gen. x. 8

[o] Ver. 10.

forthwith made a king; he might raise himself by steps, and in time. And if we could say how long he might be forming the people, before he could set up his authority, and rule them, perhaps we might begin his reign a few years later. But however that may be, we are in no great mistake in dating it from the first confusion of tongues, for then he *began to be a mighty one.* The foundations of his sovereignty were then laid, which he proceeded to build up and establish as fast as he could; and from this time, therefore, we date the rise of his kingdom. Nimrod at this time could be but a young man, in comparison of many others then alive; for suppose his father Cush, the son of Ham, was born as early as Arphaxad, the son of Shem,[p] two years after the Flood; and that Nimrod, who seems to be the sixth son of Cush, was born when his father Cush was about thirty-eight years old, Nimrod would, according to this account, be about the age of sixty-one years; old enough, indeed, to have many sons, and perhaps a grandson; but not advanced enough in years to be the *father of a nation of people,* or to have a vast number of persons descending from him. He could not have any paternal right to be a king, nor claim it fairly as due to the ripeness of his years, and the seniority of his age. But to return to the settling the chronology of his reign. He began it at Babel, A. M. 1757. But why do we suppose that he reigned one hundred and forty-eight years, and no more? To this I answer—His

[p] Gen. xi. 10.

reign may easily be allowed to be so long; for if he began to reign at the age of sixty-one, and lived one hundred and forty-eight years after, we shall extend his life only to two hundred and nine years; and the sons of Shem his contemporaries, lived much longer. So that the real difficulty will be to give a reason for our ending his reign A. M. 1905, not supposing it to be longer. To this I think we are determined by the reigns of his successors Belus and Ninus. Eusebius has placed the birth of Abraham in the forty-third year of Ninus, and the reign of Belus is commonly computed to be sixty years; so that it is evident, that the space of time between the death of Nimrod and the birth of Abraham is one hundred and three years. And since it will appear hereafter very clearly by the Hebrew chronology, that Abraham was born A. M. 2008, the one hundred and three years belonging to the reigns of Belus and Ninus, which are the space of time between the death of Nimrod, and the birth of Abraham, will carry us back to A. M. 1905, and fix the death of Nimrod, as we do, in that year. I might observe, that the beginning of Nimrod's reign in this year, agrees perfectly well with the accoun which was afterwards given of some astronomica observations made at Babylon. When Alexander the Great took possession of that city, Callisthenes the philosopher, who [q] accompanied him, upon searching into the treasures of the Babylonian learning, found

[p] Simplicius de cœlo l. 2. com. 46. p. 123.

that the Chaldeans had a series of astronomical observations for one thousand nine hundred and three years backward from that time. The year in which Alexander came to Babylon,[r] was A. M. 3674; from which, if we trace upwards 1903 years, we shall be brought back to A. M. 1771. So that in this year began the astronomy of the Chaldeans, *i. e.* fourteen years after the first beginning of Nimrod's reign. And it is very likely that so many years must be spent before the hurry arising from the first confusion of tongues could be over, before we can conceive that a settlement of the people, or the new kingdom could be brought into a state quiet and composed enough for the culture of arts and sciences to appear, and draw the public attention to them.

But, secondly, it is thought by many persons that Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus, were all but one person; and that the first year of Ninus was the first year of this empire, or at least that Nimrod and Belus were the same man, and that there was but one king before Ninus, namely Belus. To this I answer, The beginning of the Assyrian empire is very justly computed from the reign of Ninus; for he was king of Nineveh, and was the first who attempted to enlarge his dominions. The kingdom was inconsiderable when he first began his reign, but his conquests soon enlarged it, and from small beginnings laid the foundation of a mighty empire; yet still Ninus cannot

[r] Archbishop Usher's Annals.

possibly be as ancient as Nimrod, for all authors agree that the continuance of this empire from its rise to Sardanapalus, was no more than one thousand three hundred years. The death of Sardanapalus happened 3257, from which year, if we reckon backwards one thousand three hundred years, we shall come back to 1957, the year in which I have placed the beginning of Ninus's reign; but then this year falling two hundred years later than the confusion of mankind, at which time Nimrod *began to be a mighty one*, Nimrod and Ninus cannot possibly be the same person.

That the empire of the Assyrians continued no more than one thousand three hundred years from Ninus to Sardanapalus, is the unanimous opinion of all the ancient writers. Castor Rhodius makes it not quite so much, who computed it, as Syncellus[s] informs us, only one thousand two hundred and eighty; but none of them make it more; for the two passages of Diodorus Siculus, in one of which[t] the continuance of this empire is supposed to be one thousand three hundred and sixty years, and in the other above one thousand four hundred, are both esteemed by the learned to have been corrupted. The former is twice quoted by Syncellus, not one thousand three hundred and sixty, but somewhat above one thousand three hundred years, i. e. according to Agathias,[u] one

[s] Syncellus, p. 188.

[t] Diodor. Sic. l. 2. p. 77. and p. 81. Edit. Rhodoman.

[u] Lib. 2. p. 63.

thousand three hundred and six years, for so he cites this passage; and the other passage contradicts Eusebius and Clemens Alexandrinus, both of whom quoted Diodorus, and thought him to know of no other number of years for the continuance of this empire than the one thousand three hundred.*

As to Belus being the same person with Nimrod, there are no good authors that I know, who directly make them so. Nimrod is, indeed, no where mentioned but in Scripture, or in writers who have copied from the sacred pages; yet still all the writers who have mentioned Belus, assigning to his reign only about sixty years, he must begin his reign A. M. 1905, and so could not be Nimrod, who began to be a mighty one near a century and a half before this time, namely, at the dispersion of mankind, A. M. 1757. Belus, reigning only sixty years, must have been an old man when he was advanced to the throne. He might be of equal years, nay, older than Nimrod himself, live sixty years after Nimrod's decease, and yet not live to above the age of two hundred and seventy years, an age which his contemporaries in the family of Arphaxad, far exceeded. I should

* Eusebius seems by his own computations to have followed Castor's opinion; for he computes from the first year of Ninus, to the last of Sardanapalus, only one thousand two hundred and forty years; yet he quotes Diodorus, asserting it to be one thousand three hundred years, Chron. p. 32.

therefore imagine Belus to have been of much riper years, and a greater age than Nimrod himself. The enterprising spirit of Nimrod, and the heat of the times, might put the unsettled affairs of this part of mankind at first into the hands of a young man, who did very evidently lead them into schemes effectually conducing to the public good; but when he happened to be taken off, whom should they next look to for counsel and direction, but to some venerable person of authority, wisdom, and years? If Belus was the student whom Pliny supposes; if he first invented the Chaldean astronomy, it is observable that he had advanced his studies to some degree of perfection, in the early years of Nimrod's reign; for the observations, as we said, began A. M. 1771. Chronology was very imperfect in those days; for the civil or computed year consisting of but three hundred and sixty days, and that being almost five days and a quarter less than the solar year, the seasons did not return at the times, and months, and days of the month on which they were expected. For every year being five days and a quarter longer than the computations in use had calculated, it is plain, that the seasons of the year must be carried forward five days and a quarter in every year; and that in about seventeen years the first day of the winter quarter would happen on the day of the month that belonged to the spring; and so on, till, in about sixty-eight years, the seasons would go almost round, through the whole year, and come about near to their true place again.

Now this confusion and variety of the seasons must have happened twice, about the time of the dispersion

of mankind, and was the cause of such disorders in their affairs, that in time it became a part of the priests' office to observe the heavens, and to make public declarations when the seasons began for tillage and harvest; which the people had no way to find out by any diaries, or tables of chronology then made. Perhaps Belus was the first who became skilful in this matter. If we consider how slowly this sort of science was advanced, and that near a thousand years passed before they came to form any tolerable notion of the true length of the year; we may imagine that Belus might pursue these studies for several years together, without bringing them to any great perfection. He might begin his studies years before the dispersion of mankind; might have made such a progress before the fourteenth year of Nimrod, as to be able to give some, though perhaps not a very accurate account of the weather and seasons, of the seed-time and harvest; and a science of such use to the public, however imperfect, must have attracted the regard of the people, and procured great honours to the master of it. A continued progress through a course of these studies must have every year more and more raised Belus in the esteem of the people, and by the time of Nimrod's death, have procured him such a veneration, as to make way for his being king. There is a passage of Eupolemus[y] which seems to

[y] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 9. c. 17. It must be confessed that the ancient writers have very much confounded these

make Belus to be Ham the son of Noah; for he describes him to be father of Canaan, of Mizraim, of Cous or Cush, and of another son, i. e, of Phut: and these were the children whom Moses ascribes to Ham. But if any one thinks all this not probable, and will have it that Belus was a son of Nimrod; that when he came to be king, he only made a settlement and provision for the Chaldean astronomers, and so obtained the name of their founder, I cannot dispute it; we can only guess in these matters.

11. But many authors have imagined that Nineveh was not built by Ashur, but by Nimrod himself; and they interpret the 11th verse of the 10th chapter of Genesis thus; *Out of that land*, he (i. e. Nimrod, before spoken of) *went forth into Assyria, and builded Nineveh, and the cities Rehoboth and Calah, &c.* The reasons they give for this opinion are, 1, They say, it does not seem likely that Moses should give any account of the settlement of one of the sons of Shem, under the head where he is discoursing of Ham's family; when we see he reserves a distinct head for each family, and afterwards mentions Ashur in his place, ver. 22. 2. Ashur, the son of Shem, (says Sir W. Raleigh) did not build Nineveh, but settled in

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ancient names with one another; as Belus seems by this passage to be Ham; so we shall find from another passage which I have cited in its place, that Phut, one of the sons of Ham, was, probably, called by this name; and, perhaps, the words Chronus, and Belus, were both like Pharaoh, a name, or title, given to several kings.

another place. He built Ur of the Chaldees, where the children of Shem settled, until the removal of Abraham out of that country. That Ashur built Ur of the Chaldees, he collects from Isaiah, [z] *Behold the land of the Chaldeans, this people was not until Ashur founded it for the inhabitants of the wilderness.* 3. They say, if Ashur was the founder of Nineveh, what became of him? It is strange the founder of so great an empire should be but once mentioned, and that by the bye; and that we should have no further accounts of him. But to all this it may be answered 1, Moses is not so exactly methodical, but that upon mentioning Nimrod and his people, he may be conceived to hint at a colony that departed from under his government, though it happened to be led by a person of another family. 2. If Ur of the Chaldees was indeed built by Ashur, as is conjectured from the passage of Isaiah beforementioned; that is in no wise inconsistent with Ashur's going into Assyria, but rather agreeable to it; for Ur was not situate where Sir Walter Raleigh imagines, but in Mesopotamia, probably near the Tygris; and might therefore be built by the Assyrian, who bordered upon it. That Ur was in Mesopotamia, is evident from St. Stephen's supposing Abraham to dwell in Mesopotamia, before he went to Haran; [a] whereas he removed from this Ur of the Chaldees, or, as the same St. Stephen expresses it, from the land of the

[z] Isaiah xxiii. 13. [a] Acts vii. 2.

Chaldeans, directly to Haran.[b] 3. As to the silence of history about Assur, neither Nineveh, nor the kingdom of Assyria, were raised to any remarkable grandeur under Assur the first founder of it. The glory of Nineveh, and the increase of the empire was the work of after kings. Ashur only planted a few people in that country, and took care to have habitations for them; however the country was, in succeeding ages, called by his name; which is in reality a greater mention of him, than we have of several other planters, who made perhaps more considerable plantations than Ashur did. 4, But, it is probable that Assur built Nineveh, from the conquest of Babylonia by the Assyrians under Ninus. If Nimrod had built Nineveh, and planted Assyria; Babylon and Assyria would have been only one empire; and it would be an inconsistence to talk of a succeeding king of one of them conquering the other. That the Assyrian conquered the Babylonians is very particularly recorded by Diodorus;[c] and therefore before Ninus united them, Babylonia and Assyria were two distinct kingdoms, and not the plantation of one and the same founder. 5. The land of Ashur, and the land of Nimrod, are mentioned as two distinct countries, Micah v. 6.

III. Another remarkable thing in the transactions of this time, is the opposition which Ninus met at Bactria, and Semiramis after him, when she endeavoured to penetrate farther, and conquer India. When Ninus had instructed his people for war, he

[b] Acts vii. ver. 4. [c] Loc. sup. cit.

over-ran the infant kingdoms of Asia, by his own force and power, with much ease, and without meeting any considerable opposition; but when he came to attempt Bactria, though with an army very probably strengthened and increased with supplies from the conquered nations; yet he met a power here equal to his own, and able to defend itself against repeated attacks made by him. Bactria is about a thousand miles from Shinaar, and India two or three hundred miles further. Now if we suppose that the whole race of mankind, Noah and all his children, were dispersed from Shinaar; how is it possible that any one plantation of them could, in so few ages, reach and plant these distant countries, and increase and multiply to a number able to defend themselves against the united force of so many companies of their brethren? I dare say, had Ninus extended his arms as far West, North, and South, as he did East, he would have found not powerful armies, or considerable nations, but uninhabited countries. At the separation of mankind, the only company who travelled this way from Shinaar, was Jocktan and his sons. We are told they lived from Mesha to Sephar. And if we consider them, we must suppose them a younger branch; and their numbers not so great as those of some other planters, born a descent or two before them. But if we should allow them to be as potent as any other single people in the then world, able to defend themselves against the Babylonians, Assyrians, Medes, or any other particular society of their brethren; yet how is it possible that they should travel to such distant habitations, and settle themselves into

a firm and well ordered government, and be able to bring into the field sufficient forces to repel the attacks of Medes, Persians, Assyrians, Babylonians, and most of the other colonies united together. The fact therefore here related confirms to me the settlement we before allotted to Noah at his coming out of the ark. Bactria and India are not very far from the Ararat we mentioned; and if so, it is easy to say how the inhabitants of Shinaar might meet here as numerous and as potent armies as their own. Noah, and those who remained with him, were settled sooner than the travellers to Shinaar; and their descendants, without doubt were as many, as wise, as well instructed in all arts, if not better; as potent in arms, and every way as well prepared to support and maintain their kingdoms. This therefore, I think, is the reason why Ninus and Semiramis so easily over-ran the kindoms of Asia, but met so considerable an opposition at Bactria and India. Amongst the former they found only the young and inexperienced states, that arose from the divided travellers to Shinaar; but when they came to Bactria and India, they had to engage with nations who were as soon, or sooner settled than themselves, descended from their great ancestor Noah, and those who continued with him, and had been growing and increasing as much as they, from the time that their fathers had left their first seats to travel to Shinaar.

IV. Justin [d] mentions some wars between Sesostris

[d] Lib. 1. c. 1.

king of Egypt, and Tanais king of Scythia, which, he says, were long before Ninus, and prior to all dates and computations of time. It is something difficult to guess when these wars happened. Some writers think that Justin made a mistake, and supposed these wars so early, when in truth they did not happen until many ages after. Tanais and Sesostris are modern names; in these I do not question but he was mistaken; there were no such kings before Ninus. Eusebius takes notice [e] from Abydenus, that much about the time of, or soon after the confusion of tongues, there broke out a war between Chronus and Titan; and it is most probable that the Chronus here spoken of was Mizraim, the first king of Egypt. If so, Titan probably was Nimrod, and the wars here hinted at were skirmishes that might happen upon Nimrod's attempting to drive Mizraim, and all others who would not come into his society, from Babel, the place where he erected his kingdom. These wars may justly be supposed a great while before Ninus, about two hundred years at least. That Chronus was Mizraim, may be hence conjectured: Eupolemus [f] makes Chronus to be one of the names of Ham; for he records the person so named to be the father of the same children, whom Moses affirms to be the sons of Ham, namely, of Belus, of Canaan, of Cous, and of Mestraim. Canaan and Mestraim are evidently the

[e] In. Chron. & in Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 14.

[f] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. 9. c. 17.

same, with two of Ham's sons mentioned by Moses; and Cous may easily be supposed to be Cush, and then Belus must be Phut. Chronus therefore was Ham, and these were his sons; but then it is remarkable, that one of Ham's children was also called Chronus; and this second Chronus was the Mizraim of whom we are speaking. That Chronus, or Ham, had a son called also Chronus, we are informed by Eusebius;[g] and the same author assures us, that this Chronus was Mizraim, by informing us that he left[h] his kingdom of Egypt to Taautus, whom all writers acknowledge to be the son of Menes, or Mizraim, and to have succeeded him in that kingdom. This induces me to imagine that the wars ascribed by Justin to Tanais and Sesostris, were some skirmishes which might happen between Nimrod and Mizraim. Other writers besides Abydenus have mentioned these wars; we have some hints of them both in Plutarch[i] and Diodorus,[k] but with a small change of the names of the warriors. According to them, these wars happened between Typhon and Osiris; but Typhon and Titan may be easily conceived, by the accounts the Greeks give of them, to be the same person; and there is good reason to think Osiris the same person with Mizraim;

[g] Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 37.

[h] Id. ibid. p. 39.

[i] Lib. de Isid. & Osirid.

[k] Hist. lib. 1.

if we consider [l] the name, and what is affirmed of him.[m] Plutarch, in his account of these wars, gives us some things historically false, and others fabulous; but that is no wonder. The Greeks have been observed to augment all the ancient stories, which they brought from Egypt with various additions. His account, that Typhon had the aid of Aso, a famous queen of [n] Æthiopia, against Osiris, seems as if these wars had been imagined to have been carried on in the times of Semiramis; but Mizraim died before Belus, the second king of Assyria. Upon the whole, all we can offer about these wars must be imperfect and uncertain. We can only pretend to shew, that the best accounts of them do not contradict, but rather agree with the history of these times. Mizraim and his sons, were, in after ages worshipped as gods in Egpyt; and the story of this war [o] of Titan, or Typhon, against them, gave occasion to the Greek fables about the war of the giants with the gods. But to return to our history.

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[l] Mizraim in the singular number is Misor; and Osiris is often written Isiris, or Isor.

[m] Isiris is affirmed to be the brother of Cuan, which was the ancient pronunciation of כנען or Canaan. Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39. Moses makes Mizraim the brother of Canaan.

[n] Æthiopia is the land of Cush.

[o] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39.

Whilst Nimrod was settling his people at Babel; Mizraim, with those who adhered to him, took his way towards Egypt, and arrived there, it is thought, about the fifteenth year of Nimrod, A. M. 1772. He seated himself near the entrance of Egypt; and perhaps built the city Zoan, which Bochart proves to have been the seat of the kings of Egypt in the first ages. The time of Mizraim's settling in Egypt, fifteen years later than Nimrod at Shinaar, is very probable. From Shinaar to the entrance of Egypt is near seven hundred miles; and we cannot suppose that he went directly thither. Hebron in Canaan was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt,[p] and it seems by its situation to have stood in the midway between Shinaar and Egypt. Whether Mizraim was at the building of Hebron we cannot say: he very probably made many stops in several places; for we cannot think that he knew any thing of Egypt at his first setting out, but he travelled in search of a country where he should like to settle; and after many journeys, and, perhaps, some short abodes in several places, where some inconveniences or other dissuaded him from settling, at length he came to the banks of the Nile. Here he found a plentiful and well-watered country, and therefore here he determined to fix, and move no further; and he may well be supposed to have spent fifteen years in travelling thus far in this manner.

[p] Numb. xiii. 22.

The person whom Moses calls Mizraim, is by Diodorus and the other heathen writers commonly called Menes, by Syncellus Mestraim. Menes is supposed to be the first king of Egypt, by Herodotus,[q] Diodorus,[r] Eratosthenes, Africanus from Manetho, Eusebius and Syncellus;[s] and the times of their Menes coincides very well with those of the Mizraim of Moses, as Sir John Marsham has pretty clearly evidenced in the following manner.[t]

1, He observes from Diodorus,[u] that Menes was succeeded by fifty-two kings, whose reigns, all together, took up the space of above one thousand four hundred years; in all which time the Egyptians had done nothing worth recording in history. 2. He supposes these one thousand four hundred years to end at Sesostris; for Herodotus is express[x] that the first illustrious actions were done in Egypt, in the time of Sesostris. Before Sesostris, says he,[y] they had nothing famous; and Diodorus[z] says, that Sesostris performed the most illustrious actions, far exceeding all before

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[q] Lib. ii. [r] Lib. i. [s] In Chron. Euseb.

[t] Can. Chron. p. 22. [u] Lib. i. p. 29.

[x] Lib. ii. c. 101.

[y] Sir John Marsham thus quotes Herodotus; but the words of Herodotus are, in loc. supr. cit. Των δε αλλων Βασιλεων, ὁ γαρ ελεγον ουδεμιαν εργων αποδεξιν, κατ' ουδεν εσσον λαμπροτατον ωλεν ενος του ισχατου αυτων Μοιριος. Mœris was the immediate predecessor of Sesostris.

[z] Lib. 1. p. 34.

him. 3. He supposes with Josephus,[a] that this Sesostris was Sesac, who besieged Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam king of Judah, about A. M. 3033. The only difficulty in this argumentation will be, that it places Menes, or Mizraim, above a century earlier than the true age; for if we reckon backward one thousand four hundred years, from the year before named, in which Sesac besieged Jerusalem, we shall place Mizraim A. M. 1633, i. e. twenty-three years before the Flood, and one hundred and thirty-nine years earlier than the true time of his reign, which began, as we before said, at least fifteen years later than that of Nimrod, A. M. 1772. But this difficulty may be easily cleared: the number, one thousand four hundred years, is a mistake; Diodorus says expressly, that there were but fifty-two kings from Menes to the time when Sesostris is supposed to begin his reign: and according to Sir John Marsham's tables of the Theban kings, from Menes to Sesostris is but one thousand three hundred and seventy years; though we suppose Sesostris the fifty-fifth king from Menes; and even this number is too great, if, as Diodorus computes, there were only fifty two kings. The ancients generally allowed about thirty-six years and a half to the reign of a king; therefore if we deduct from one thousand three hundred and seventy the number of years between Menes and Sesostris, according to Sir John Marsham's tables; I say, if we deduct three

[a] Antiquit. lib. 8. c. 4. p. 368. edit. Huds.

times thirty-six years and a half, or about one hundred and ten years, supposing those tables to have the names of three kings too many, the number of kings being, according to Diodorus, fifty-two and not fifty-five; we shall then make the space of time between Menes and Sesostris about one thousand two hundred and sixty years; and so it really is, according to the Hebrew chronology, Menes beginning his reign, as we said before, A. M. 1772; and Sesostris, or Sesac, besieging Jerusalem in the fifth year of Rehoboam, A. M. 3033. It is remarkable, that the marginal note in Rhodomannus's edition of Diodorus Siculus supposes the number one thousand four hundred years to be a mistake; but the annotator was not happy in his emendation; for if we should read, one thousand and forty, as he would correct it, that would fall as short of the true age of Menes, as the other exceeds it.

There is a quotation from Dicæarchus, the scholar of Aristole, a more ancient historian than either Eratosthenes or Manetho; and a writer of the best character with the learned,[b] which may also determine the age of Menes. The passage is preserved by the scholiast upon the Argonautics of Appollonius. Dicæarchus there affirms, that the reign of Nilus was four hundred and thirty-six years before the first Olympiad.[c] Now, according to archbishop Usher, the first Olympiad began A. M. 3228; the reign of Nilus therefore began A. M. 2792. And by the canon of Eratosthenes,

[b] Marsham Can. Chronic.

[c] Lib. iv. ver. 272.

Nilus was the thirty-sixth king from Menes, or Mizraim, and Mizraim's reign began nine hundred and eighty-seven years before Nilus, and consequently began A. M. 1805. The difference between this and the first year of Menes, according to the other computation, is but thirty-three years; we cannot say which of them, or whether either of them, be the exact truth, but their agreeing so nearly is an evidence that neither of them vary much from it.

Menes, though he at first seated himself in the land of Zoan, at the entrance of Egypt; yet did not settle here for life. He afterwards removed further into the country, into the parts afterwards called Thebais, and built the city Thebes; he is also said by Herodotus to have built the city of Memphis;[d] and by Plato[e] he is said to have reigned king over all Egypt. His removal into the South parts of Egypt, namely the country of Thebais, is particularly noticed by Eusebius;[f] and the time of this his migration is fixed by Apollodorus,[g] and said to be one hundred and twenty-four years after the dispersion of mankind, i. e. A. M. 1881. Menes is supposed to have lived sixty-two years after his planting Thebais, and so to have

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[d] Herod. l. 2. c. 99.

[e] In Phædo. p. 1240. Plato calls him Timaus.

[f] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. l. p. 39. Eusebius calls him Κρονῶ: but it is observed, that Κρονῶ, the father of Taautus, was the son of Κρονῶ, or Ham, for so was Mizraim; and thus he is recorded to have been by Eusebius, p. 27.

[g] In Euseb. Chron.

died A. M. 1943. Menes cannot be supposed to have been born much earlier than Arphaxad, i.e. not before two years after the Flood; at the dispersion of mankind, therefore, he could be but ninety-nine; at his entrance into Egypt but fifteen years older, i. e. one hundred and fourteen: at his removal to Thebais, one hundred and twenty-four years; after the dispersion of mankind, he might be two hundred and thirty-eight; and if he reigned sixty-two years after this, he died in the three hundredth year of his age. We find that Arphaxad his contemporary, descendant of Shem, lived to be four hundred and thirty-eight. So might Mizraim have been, but the ancients were of opinion that he was killed.

Diodorus Siculus informs us, that he was killed by Typhon.[h] The Egyptian[i] records give the account of his death more obscurely; they say, Υπο Ιπποποταμου ηρπασθη, *that he was pulled in pieces by the crocodile.* Eusebius[k] explains this by observing, that the Egyptians, when these facts afterwards came to be turned into fable and allegory, represented Typhon by the figure of a crocodile. Plutarch[l] informs us, that there was such a representation of Typhon at Hermopolis; and Ælian remarks,[m] that the reason for the aversion which the inhabitants of Apollinopolis had to a crocodile, arose from a tradition that Typhon was turned into a creature of that shape.

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[h] Lib. 1. [i] Euseb. Chronic. Syncellus, p. 54.

[k] Præp. Evang. lib. iii. c. 12.

[l] Lib. de Iside & Oriside, p. 371.

[m] Var. Hist. l. 14. c. 26.

As Mizraim came afterwards to be worshipped, so his death was commemorated with great solemnity; and Sir John Marsham[n] was of opinion, that the ceremony of the women sitting at the North gate of the temple,[o] weeping for Tammuz, was an imitation of some Egyptian rites on this occasion.

After the death of Mizraim, each of his seven sons governed a little kingdom; and these I take to be the Cabiri of the ancients. There were seven of the Cabiri, sons of one person called Sydec;[p] and there was an eighth person, added to them, concerning whose name they differed a little; some of them, according to Eusebius, calling him Æsculapius; others, according to Damascius, in his life of Isidore in Photius,[q] naming him Esmunus. It is impossible to reduce the numerous, but fabulous, stories we have of these Cabiri, to any tolerable consistency; for they were all the inventions of later ages, and when the fabulous accounts of later ages, were intermixed with the ancient traditions, it often happened, as it is observed in Eusebius,[r] that the truth was very much obscured by them. Diodorus Siculus very justly observes,[s] that the Greeks worshipped for their gods some heroes and great men, who had formerly been famous in Egypt, whose lives at first, or at least short memoirs of them,

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[n] Can. Chronic. p. 31.
[o] Ezek. viii. 14.
[p] Euseb. Præp. Evang. p. 39.
[q] Bibliothec. p. 1074.
[r] Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 9. & 10
[s] Lib. 1. p. 14.

had been written in a plain and simple manner; but after-writers [t] embellished the accounts given of them, by adding to them various fictions. Of this sort I take to be the accounts we have of Chronus building [u] Byblus and Berytus, and of the Cabiri dwelling there. This story looks like an invention of Philo, to do honour to his own country, or to raise the reputation of Sanchoniathon's writings. Mizraim and his sons settled in, or near to Egypt; and it does not seem probable that they built cities in Phoenicia, or could travel all over the world, as Diodorus Siculus relates. They travelled from Shinaar to Egypt, and up and down Egypt, and backwards and forwards in the countries near it; as Abraham did afterwards up and down Mesopotamia, Canaan, and Egypt. This was enough to give a handle to writers to represent them in after-ages as tavelling from one end of the earth to the other. Taautus, one of the Cabiri, is said to have made representations of the deities;[v] but this story confutes itself. Such representations could not be made, until the mythologic times, i. e. not till many years after Thyoth or Taautus was dead and buried. The word Cabiri, according to the explanation given of it by Varro [x] and Macrobius,[y] signifies powerful deities; and such the idolatrous nations thought their ancient heroes, when they came to worship them. The Cabiri were, as I observed, eight

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[t] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10. p. 39.

[u] Ibid. p. 38.

[v] Id. ibid. p. 39.

[x] Varro. l. 4.

[y] Saturnal l. 3. c. 4.

in number; seven, sons of one man; and so many, according to Moses, were the sons of Mizraim. The eighth person added to them might be the father of the Philistines, whom Moses[z] mentions with the sons of Mizraim.

Three of the sons of Mizraim became kings in Egypt, Ananim, Naphtuhim, Pathrusim. Ananim, or rather Anan, was king of the Lower Egypt, or Delta; Naphtuhim, or Napth, of the parts near and about Memphis; Pathrusim, or Pathrus, of the country of Thebais. Agreeably hereto, the countries of which they were kings, took their ancient names from these men; Lower Egypt was called Zoan, or Zanan, or more properly Tanan, according to the Latin word in Agro Taneos;[a] the kingdom of Memphis was called the land of Noph, or Naph;[b] and the kingdom of Thebais, the land of Pathrus, or Pathros.[c]

Ananim was also called Curudes. We have little of this first king of Lower Egypt, except his name and term of life; according to Syncellus, he reigned sixty-three years, and so died A. M. 2006.

Naphtuhim was the king of Naph, or land of

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[z] Gen. x. 14.

[a] Psal. lxxviii. 12. and 43. Isaiah xix. 11. & 13. chap. xxx. 4.

[b] Isaiah xix. 13. Jerem. ii. 16. chap. xliv. ver. 1. chap. xlvi. ver. 14. Ibid. 19. Ezek. xxx. 13, 16.

[c] Jerem. xliv. 1.

Memphis; his Egyptian name was Tosorthrus, and the Latins afterwards called him Æsculapius. He was of greater eminence than his brother Ananim; but not so famous as his other brother, who was king of Thebes. Pathrusim is supposed to have first invented the use of letters; but Naphtuhim is said [d] to have learned both them and several other useful arts from him, and to have instructed his people in them. He is said to have been the author of the architecture of these ages; [e] and to have had some useful knowledge in physic and anatomy. [f] The Egyptians, [g] indeed, generally ascribe all their sciences to the other brother, but it is easy to conceive how this might happen. Pathrusim, whom they called Tyoth, was a person so extraordinary, that it might be difficult for any other name beside his to obtain any considerable share of reputation in that age. Letters, indeed, are said to have come into use in these days, and men began to minute down in characters upon pieces of stone, or lumps of burnt earth, some hints of things, in order to transmit them to future ages. But as few persons only were skilled in this art; and indeed the names of the inventors of arts were very

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[d] Syncell. p. 50. Γραφης επιμεληθη. Id quidem non de illarum inventione intelligi debet, sed de curâ Secundariâ, operâque ex præcepto Mercurii navatâ. Marsham Can. Chron. p. 40.

[e] Syncell. ibid.

[f] Syncell. p. 54.

[g] Jamblich. de Myster. Ægypt.

few; it is probable their names were not always recorded with their inventions. The age they lived in knew them and honoured them, and tradition preserved their characters for some generations; but tradition becomes in time a very uncertain register of past transactions, and so it happened in this case. What was recorded was handed down to posterity; but after ages grew more and more uncertain respecting the authors of what was transmitted to them; and men ascribed things more or less to particular persons, according as they had their names in honour and esteem. The most ancient fragments of the Egyptian learning [h] were some inscriptions upon lumps of burnt earth, called στηλαι, or pillars; and these were, some ages after these times, found hid in some caves near Thebes, or Diospolis.[i] Agathodæmon, called the second Mercury, decyphered them. They were two and forty [k] in number; six and thirty being written upon philosophical subjects, i. e. upon the origin of the world, and history of mankind, which was the philosophy of these times; and the other six related to medicine. It is probable none of these pillars had any author's name set on them, and the humour then being to ascribe all science to Tyoth, the decypherer might take them all for his; whereas six and thirty of them only might be Tyoth's, and the other six Tosorthrus's, who is said to have been more skilful than

[h] Syncell. p. 40.

[k] Clem. Alex. Strom. l. 1.

other men upon this subject. How long Tosorthrus lived is uncertain.

Pathrusim was king of Thebais, his Egyptian name was Tyoth, or, according to the Alexandrian dialect, Thoth. He was also called Athothes. His Greek name was Hermes; and afterwards the Latins named him Mercurius. He is said to have been a person of a very happy genius, for all inventions of common use and service to mankind.[l] And while Mizraim was alive,[m] he is supposed to have been his secretary, and great assistant in all his underrakings; and when his father Mizraim died, he is said to have instructed his brothers in the arts and sciences of which he was master. Eusebius[n] relates, that Mizraim (whom he mentions by the name of Chronus) when he died, left his kingdom wholly to this Tyoth, or Taautus, and so perhaps he might; and Taautus having instructed his brothers, might send each of them out to plant a nation. He made laws; enriched his language, by teaching his people names for many things, for which they had no words before; and he corrected and made the language more expressive than had been used amongst them. He is said to have settled their religion, and method of worship; to have made some astronomical observations, and to have taught the use of letters. His success in these and other attempts was so great, and obtained him so much

[l] Diodor. l. 1.

[m] Euseb. præp. Evang. p. 36. Diodor. ut supr.

[n] Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 1. p. 39.

honour, that posterity thought him the sole author of all their arts and sciences whatsoever. This is the best account which can be given of the nations that inhabited Egypt in the ages next after the dispersion of mankind.

There is no doubt but other nations were settled in these times, though we have not any hints of their history. It is certain that Canaan was inhabited even sooner than Egypt; for, according to Moses,[o] Hebron in Canaan was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt; and it is generally thought that about the fifteenth year of Belus, i. e. one hundred and sixty-five years after the first year of Nimrod's kingdom, and one hundred and fifty years after Mizraim's settlement in Egypt, A. M. 1922,[p] Egialeus began a kingdom at Sicyon, in Greece; so that mankind was before this time dispersed over a considerable part of the world. But it does not appear that any of these nations made a great figure in the first ages. The few men of extraordinary eminence who were then in the world, lived in Egypt and Assyria. For this reason we find little or no mention of any other countries, until one of these two nations came to send out colonies, by whom the people they travelled to were by degrees polished and instructed in arts and sciences, made to appear with credit in their own age, and some accounts of them transmitted to those who should come after. As Assyria has the credit of the first attempts in astronomy, so some authors imagine that

[o] Numb. xiii. 22. [p] Euseb. Chron.

letters were first invented in Egypt. There are other writers who ascribe them to other nations. The use of letters was certainly very early; otherwise we could not have had the short memoirs we have of the first ages of the world. And though the learned have not agreed about the first author of them, and the place where they were invented; yet it is remarkable, that by a review of what has been written about them, we may trace them backward from nation to nation, as we have reason to think the use and knowledge of them has been propogated; and find them most early used in those parts from whence mankind dispersed at the confusion of tongues.

For, to begin with the Europeans. As we are settled far from the first seats of mankind, far from the places which the descendants of Noah first planted; so the use of letters appears to have been in the world much earlier than mankind can be reasonably supposed to have inhabited these countries. It is remarkably evident, that many of the European nations came to the knowledge of letters in late ages. Ælian [q] makes particular mention of the ignorance of the Thracians, which was so great and universal, that he quotes Androtion, affirming, that many of the ancients rejected the accounts they had of Orpheus, thinking them to be fabulous, because he was a Thracian, which they thought argument sufficient to prove him illiterate. None of the ancient Thracians, says he,

[q] Var. Hist. l. 8. c. 6.

knew any thing of letters; nay, the Europeans thought it disreputable to learn them, though in Asia they were more in request." The Goths had their letters and writings from Ulphila, who was their bishop, so late as three hundred and seventy years after our Saviour, according to the express testimony of Socrates.[r] So that the opinion of Olaus, concerning the antiquity of their letters, is very groundless. The Slavonians received their letters from Methodius,[s] a philosopher, about the time of the emperor Lewis II. successor to Lotharius, i. e. about 856; and it is but a fiction, that the ancient Franks,[t] who set up Pharamond, the first king of France, had letters like the old Greeks,[u] as Cornelius Agrippa imagined. St. Jerome[x] translated the Bible into the Dalmatian tongue, in letters something like the Greek ones; and taught the people of that country how to read it. St. Cyril did the same for the Illyrici; and the people of these countries have books written in these letters, and call them after the names[y] of St. Jerome and St. Cyril to this day. The Greeks were certainly the only people of Europe who had the use of letters very early. Let us now see how they came by their knowledge of them.

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[r] Soc. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 33.

[s] Aventin. Annal. l. 4.

[t] Vossius de Arte Gram. lib. 1. c. 9.

[u] Corn. Agrip. devanit. Scientiar. lib. 1. c. 11. Walton Prolegom.

[x] Id. ibid.

[y] Walton Prolegom.

As to the Latins, all writers agree, that they received their letters from the Greeks, being first taught the use of them by some of the followers of Pelasgus, who came into Italy about one hundred and fifty years after Cadmus came into Greece; or by the Arcadians, whom Evander led into these parts about sixty years after Pelasgus. Pliny and Solinus imagined that the Pelasgi[a] were the first authors of the Latin letters; but Tacitus was of opinion that the first Italians[d] were taught letters by the Arcadians; and Dionysius Halicarnasseus[b] expressly affirms the same thing. In this point, indeed, there is a difference among writers; still the Pelasgi and Arcadians being both of them Grecian colonies who removed to seek new habitations; it remains, uncontroverted, that the Latins received their letters from the Greeks, which soever of these were the authors of them. The Pelasgi probably might first introduce the use of them; and the Arcadians, who came soon after them, might bring with them the same arts as the Pelasgi had before taught, and letters in particular; and some parts of Italy might be instructed by one, and some by the other; and this is exactly agreeable to Pliny.[c] That the Latin letters were derived from the Greek, seems very probable; from the similitude the ancient letters of each nation bear to one another. Tacitus[d]

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[a] Plin. lib. 7. c. 56.

[b] Dion. Halicar. lib. 2.

[d] Tacit. Annal. lib. 11.

[d] Lib. 11. p. 131.

[c] Lib. 7. c. 56.

observes that the shape of the Latin letters was like that of the most ancient Greek ones; and the same observation was made by Pliny,[e] and confirmed from an ancient table of brass inscribed to Minerva. Scaliger[f] has endeavoured to prove the same point, from an inscription on a pillar which stood formerly in the Via Appia to Old Rome, and was afterwards removed into the gardens of Farnese. Vossius is of the same opinion, and has shewn[g] at large how the old Latin letters were formed from the ancient Greek, with a very small variation.

Let us now come to the Greeks, who confess that they were taught their letters. The Ionians[h] were the first who had knowledge of them, and they learned them from the Phœnicians. The Ionians did not form their letters exactly according to the Phœnician alphabet; yet they varied them but little, and were so just as to acknowledge whence they received them, by always calling their letters Phœnician. And the followers of Cadmus[i] are supposed to be the persons who taught the Ionians the first use of their letters. This is the substance of what is most probable about

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[e] Lib. 7. c. 58. [f] Digress. ad Annum. Euseb. 1617.

[g] Voss. lib. 1. c. 24, 25.

[h] Herod. in. Terpsichor.

[i] See Plut. Sympos. lib. 9. prob. 2 and 3. Philostrat. lib. 2 de vit. Sophist. Critias apud Athenæum. lib. 1. Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1. Voss. de art. Gram. lib. 1. c. 10. Scaliger in Not. ad. Euseb. 1617. Grot. in Not. ad lib. de veritat. Rel. lib. 1. n. 13. Bochart. Geog. Sacra.

the origin of the Greek letters. There are, indeed, other opinions of writers to be met with; for some have imagined that Palamedes was the author of the Greek letters, others Linus, and others Simonides; but these persons were not the first authors, but only the improvers of the Greek alphabet. The long vowels η and ω, were the invention of Simonides; for at first ε and ο were used promiscuously, as long or short vowels; φ, χ, and θ, were letters added to the alphabet by Palamedes; and ξ and ψ, though we are not certain who was the author of them, did not belong to the original alphabet. Yet still, though these letters were the inventions of Palamedes, Linus, or Simonides, they cannot be said to be the authors of the Greek letters in general, because the Greeks had an alphabet of letters before these particular ones came into use; as might be shewn from several testimonies of ancient writers, and some specimens of ancient inscriptions, several copies of which have been taken by the curious.

Vossius[k] was of opinion that Cecrops was the first author of the Greek letters; and it must be confessed that he has given some, not improbable reasons for his conjecture. Cecrops was an Egyptian, much older than Cadmus, and was remarkable for understanding both the Egyptian and Greek tongues; but the arguments for Cadmus are more in number, and more conclusive than for Cecrops. If Cecrops did

[k] Loc. supr. cit.

they are the character to which the Ionian letters were in a little time changed, for they do not differ very much from them. But, to return: It is, I say, agreed by the best writers, that the Greeks received their letters from the Phœnicians; and that the ancient Ionian letters were the first in use amongst them. And thus we have traced letters into Phœnicia. We have now to inquire whether the Phœnicians were the inventors of them, or whether they received them from some other nation.

We must confess that many writers have supposed the Phœnicians to be the inventors of letters. Pliny [o] and [p] Curtius both hint this opinion; and agreeable hereto are the words of the poet, [q]

> Phœnices primi, famæ si credimus, ausi
> Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris.

And Cretias [r]

> Φοινικες δ' ευρον γραμματ αλεξιλογα.

And so Hesychius makes εκφοινιξαι and αναγνωσαι, to act the Phœnician, and to read, to be synonymous terms. But other authors with better reason are of another opinion. Diodorus [s] says expressly, that the Syrians were the inventors of letters; and that the Phœnicians learned them from them, and afterwards sailed with

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[o] Plin. l. & lib. 7.
[p] Lib. 4. § 4.
[q] Lucan. Pharsal. l. 3.
[r] Apud Athenæum lib. 1.
[s] Lib. 5.

of their language into Egypt." Kircher endeavours to shew by their form, and shape, that the Greek letters were formed from the Egyptian description of their sacred animals; which he thinks were the letters which the Egyptians at first used in their common writing, as well as in their hieroglyphical mysteries. These letters, he says, Cadmus communicated to the Greeks, with only this difference, that he did not take care to keep up to the precise form of them, but made them in a looser manner. He pretends to confirm his opinion from Herodotus; and lastly affirms from St. Jerome, that Cadmus, and his brother Phœnix, were Egyptians; that Phœnix, in their travels from Egypt, stayed at Phœnicia, which took its name from him; that Cadmus went into Greece, but could not possibly teach the Grecians any other letters, than what himself had learned when he lived in Egypt. But to all this there are many objections. 1. The hieroglyphical writing was not the most ancient way of writing in Egypt, nor that which Cadmus taught the Greeks. 2. Herodotus, in[y] the passage cited, does not affirm that Cadmus brought Egyptian letters into Greece, but expressly calls them Phœnician letters; and, as we said before, the Phœnician letters were the same as the Hebrew, Canaanitish, or Syrian, as Scaliger, Vossius, and Bochart have proved beyond contradiction. 3. St. Jerome does not say whether Cadmus's letters were Phœnician or Egyptian; so that his authority is of no service in the

[y] In Terpsich. Φοινικα τα Καδμε γραμματα.

point before us; and as to Cadmus and Phœnix's being Egyptians, that is much questioned; it is more probable they were Canaanites, as shall be proved hereafter.

Many considerable writers have given the Egyptians the credit of inventing letters; and they all agree that Mercury or Thyoth was the inventor of them. Pliny[z] in the very place where he says that some ascribed the invention of letters to the Syrians, confesses that others thought the Egyptians the inventors of them, and Mercury their first author. Diodorus[a] expressly ascribes the invention of them to the same person; and so does Plutarch,[b] and Cicero.[c] Tertullian[d] adopted the same opinion; and we also find it in Plato. Kircher[e] describes the shape of the very letters which this Thyoth invented. And Philo-Biblius, the translator of Sanchoniathon's history, quoted by Eusebius and Porphyry, mentions the Commentaries of Taautus, or Thyoth, and the sacred letters in which he wrote his books; and Jamblichus[f] speaks of an incredible number of[g] books by this Taautus. All antiquity

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[z] Hist. l. 7. c. 56.

[a] Diodor. l. 2.

[b] Sympos. l. 20. c. 3.

[c] Lib de Natur. Deorum 3.

[d] Lib. de coronâ Millitis. c. 8. & de Testim Animæ, c. 5. 9

[e] Œdip. Ægypt. Tom. iii. 2.

[f] Lib. de Mysteriis, cap. Deo atque diis.

[g] By the books of Taautus, I suppose are meant pillars, or lumps of earth with inscriptions on them, books not being invented in these early ages.

agrees, that the use of letters was very early in Egypt; and that Thyoth or Mercury was the first who used them there, and taught others the use of them; but though he is by many writers, for this reason, called the inventor of letters, yet I cannot think that he really was so; considering that mankind was not planted first in Egypt after the Flood, but travelled thither from other countries. We have already shewn that the use of letters was in Greece first, then in Italy, and afterwards spread into other parts of Europe. We have also considered how they came into Greece, namely, from Phœnicia; and they were most probably introduced into Phœnicia from Syria; and the Syrians, Canaanites, and Assyrians, used originally the same letters. So that in all probability they were introduced into all these nations from one to another, and were earliest at the place where mankind separated at the confusion of tongues; and from this place it is also likely they were propagated into Egypt, and into all other countries into which any companies dispersed from Shinaar.

I always thought letters to be of an Assyrian original, said Pliny;[b] and this was his opinion after duly considering what all other writers had offered about them. It is highly reasonable to think that all arts and sciences flourished here as much earlier, than in other parts, as the inhabitants of these parts were settled sooner than those who went from them. We

[b] Hist. Nat. lib. vii. c. 56.

have a sufficient account of the first kings, and of the ancient history of this part of the world, to induce us to believe that they began their annals very early. We are sure from the astronomical observations found at Babylon in the time of Alexander the Great, which were before mentioned, that they studied here, and recorded such observations as they made, very few years after the dispersion of mankind; a plain indication that they had at this time the use of letters; but we have no proofs that they had the use of them thus early in Egypt, or in any other of the nations derived from the dispersion of mankind. Taautus is by all writers held to be the first who used letters in Egypt; and if we suppose him to have used them before he came to be king, when he was secretary to his father Misraim; yet still the use of them must be later in Egypt than in Assyria; for they were probably used in the astronomical records at Babylon, even before Misraim entered Egypt. One thing is here remarkable, namely, that in these parts, where the early use of letters is so capable of being proved, there is no mention of any particular person's being the author of them; for the opinion of Suidas, who imagined Abraham to be the author of the Assyrian letters, like that of Eupolemus[i] and Isidorus,[k] who thought Moses the inventor of the Hebrew letters, and of the Egyptian, deserve no confutation. Letters were used in Assyria long before Abraham was born, and in Egypt, much longer be-

[i] Euseb. Præp. Evang. lib. ix. c. 26. [k] Origines lib. 1.

fore Moses; and the ancient Hebrew and Assyrian letters were the same. The true reason why we meet with no supposed author of the Assyrian letters, is, I believe, this; antiquity agreed that letters were not invented in Assyria. Mankind had lived above one thousand six hundred years before the Flood; and it is not probable they lived without the use of letters; for if they had, how should we have had the short annals which we have of the first world? If they had letters, it is likely that Noah was skilled in them, and taught them to his children.

In the early ages, when mankind were but few, and those few employed in all manner of contrivances for life, there could be but here and there one who had leisure or perhaps inclination to study letters; and yet it is probable that there were too many who understood them among the people who remained at Shinaar, to prevent any rumour of a single person's inventing them. The companies who removed from Shinaar into other parts of the world, were but rude and uncultivated people, who followed some persons of figure and eminence, who had gained an ascendant over them; and hence it might come to pass, that when they had separated their people from the rest of mankind, and came to teach them those arts of which they were masters, all they taught them passed for inventions of their own, because they knew no other persons skilled in them. But at Shinaar there were several eminent persons who lived subjects to Nimrod, and who understood and were masters of the several arts and sciences which mankind enjoyed together, before some of the great and leading men made parties for themselves, and se-

parated in order to disperse over the world. Therefore, though we here meet with a reported author, when any new science was invented, as Belus was supposed to be author of their astronomy; yet in the case of letters, in which there was nothing new, nothing but what several among them, who had gone from them were very well skilled in; there could arise no account of any one person being the author or inventor of them.

There is one consideration more which makes it very probable that the use of letters came from Noah, and out of the first world, and that is the account which the Chinese give of their letters. They assert that their first emperor, whom they call Fohi, was the inventor of them; before Fohi they have no records, and their Fohi and Noah were the same person. Noah came out of the ark in these parts of the world, and the letters used here were derived from him; and it happened here, as it afterwards did in other parts of the world. Noah being the sole instructor of his descendants, what he taught them was by after-ages reported to be his own invention, though he himself had learned it from those who lived before him. Bishop Walton offers arguments to prove that the Chinese had not the earliest use of letters; but all his arguments arise from his supposing that the ark rested in Armenia, and that mankind lived in Assyria soon after the Flood, and before they came to China, which I have proved not likely to be true.

We can carry our enquiry into the origin of letters no higher. Pliny in one place hints that they have been supposed to be eternal; but that opinion

must[1] either be founded upon the erroneous notion of the world's being eternal, or can mean no more than that the first men invented them. Some of the rabbins ascribe them to Adam, and some to Abel; but they have nothing to offer that can be depended on. But surprisingly odd is the whim of some of the Jewish doctors, who affirm ten things to have been created on the evening of the first sabbath, namely, the rain-bow; the hole of the rock, out of which the water flowed; the pillar of the cloud and of fire, which afterwards went before the Israelites; the two tables on which the law was written; Aarons rod, and letters; but this sort of trash needs no confutation,

> Turpe est difficiles habere nugas,
> Et stultus labor est ineptiarum.

If we consider the nature of letters, it must appear something strange, that an invention so surprising as that of writing should have been found out in ages so near the beginning of the world. Nature may easily be supposed to have prompted men to speak, to try to express their thoughts to one another by sounds and noises; but that the wit of man should, amongst its first attempts, find out a way to express words in figures, or letters; and to form a method, by which they might expose to view all that can be said or

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[1] Pliny hints it only from the supposition of some very ancient persons having used them. Lib. vii. c. 56.

thought, and that within the compass of sixteen, or twenty, or four and twenty, characters, variously placed, so as to form syllables and words; I say, to think that any man could immediately and directly fall upon a project of this nature, exceeds the highest notion we can have of the capacity with which we are endued. We have great and extraordinary abilities of mind, and we experience that by steps and degrees we can advance our knowledge, and make almost all parts and creatures of the world of use and service to us; but still all these things are done by steps and degrees. A first attempt has never yet perfected any science or invention whatever. The mind of man began to exert itself as soon as ever it was set on thinking; and we find, the first men attempted many of the arts, which after-ages carried forwards to perfection; but they only attempted them, and attained no further than to leave imperfect essays to those who came after. The first men, though they had formed a language to be understood by, yet certainly never attained to an elegancy of speaking. Tubal-Cain was the first artificer in brass-work and iron; but without doubt his best performances were very ordinary, in comparison of what has been done by later artists. The arts of building, painting, carving, and many others, were attempted very early; but the first trials were only attempts; and men arrived at perfection by degrees. Time and experience led them on from one thing to another, until having tried many ways, as their different fancies at different times happened to lead them, they came to form better methods of executing what they aimed at, than

they had at first thought of. And thus, without doubt, it has happened in the affair of letters: men did not at first hit upon a method extremely artificial, but began with something easy and plain, simple, and of no great contrivance, such as nature might very readily suggest.

And, if I may be allowed to make some conjectures upon this subject, it seems not very probable, that the first inventors of letters had any alphabet, or set number of letters, or any notion of describing a word by such letters as should spell, and thereby express the sound thereof. The first letters were, more likely, strokes, or dashes, by which the writers marked down, as their fancies led them, the things they had a mind to record; and one stroke, or dash, without any notion of expressing a sound or word by it, was the mark of a whole action, or perhaps of a sentence. When the first man began to speak, he had only, as I before hinted, to fix to himself, and to teach others to know by what particular sounds he had a mind to express the things which he had to speak of. In the same manner, whenever mankind formed the first thoughts of writing, he who formed them had only to determine, by what particular marks he would express the things or actions he had a mind to mark down; and all this he might do, without having any notion of expressing a sound, or word, by the characters he made. We have amongst us, in frequent use, characters which are as significant as letters, and yet have no tendency to express this or that particular sound; for instance, our numeral letters, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. express, as clearly as the words themselves could

do, the numbers intended by them, and they no more spell one, two, three, four, five, than they do *unum*, *duo*, *tria*, *quatuor*; or, the Greek words for them εν, δυο, τρια, τεσσαρα, &c. Our astronomical characters are of the same sort, ☉, ☾, ☿, ♀, ♂, ♃, ♄; with many others which might be named, and are at sight intelligible to persons of different nations, and who would read them into words, of different sounds, as each of their languages would direct. Such as these probably were the letters of the first men; they had no notion of spelling, and expressing the sound of words, but made a few marks to be the signs of the things which they had a mind to write down, and which might be easily understood by those who made them, and by as many others as would take the pains to learn their character. This is what nature would directly lead to, in the first attempts of writing. There could be no notion of spelling, nor any thought of a set number of letters; for men could hardly have a thought of these, until language came to be considerably improved; until they had viewed on all sides the nature of their words, and found out how many sorts of sounds were required to express them. If we look amongst the ignorant persons who are now in the world, we may see enough to shew us what the first attempts of nature would be, and what is owing to improvement. There are many persons in the world, who, not having been taught either to write or read, have no notion of spelling, and yet can by their natural parts, form themselves a character, and with a piece of chalk record, for their own use, all that they have occasion to mark down in their affairs. I have been told of a

country farmer, of very considerable dealings, who was able to keep no other book, and yet carried on a variety of business in buying and selling, without disorder or confusion. He chalked upon the walls of a large room set apart for that purpose, what he was obliged to remember of his affairs with divers persons; and if we but suppose, that some of his family were instructed in his marks, there is no difficulty in conceiving, that he might this way, if he had died, have left a very clear state of his concerns to them. Something of this sort is like the first essay of nature, and thus, without doubt, the first men wrote. It was time and improvement which led them to consider the nature of words, to divide them into syllables, and to form a method of spelling them by a set of letters.

If we look among the Chinese[m] we find in fact what I have been treating of. They have no notion of alphabetical letters, but make use of characters to express their meaning. Their characters are not designed to express words, for they are used by several neighbouring nations who differ in language; nor are there any set number or collection of them, as one would imagine art and contrivance would, at one time or other, have reduced them to; but the Chinese still write in a manner as far from art, as one can conceive the first writer to have invented. They have a mark for every thing or action they have to write of, and not having contrived to use the same mark for the

[m] Alvar. Seved. Walton. Prolegom.

same thing, with some common distinctions for the accidental circumstances that may belong to it, every little difference of time, manner, place, or any other circumstance, causes a new mark, so that though their words are but few, their letters are innumerable.[a] We have, in Europe, as I before hinted, characters to express numbers, which are not designed for any particular sounds, or words; but then, we have artificially reduced them to a small number; 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and the cypher, 0, will express all numbers that can possibly be conceived. Without doubt the Chinese character might be contraced by a proper method, but the writing of this people, as well as their language, has little improvement. When mankind began first to make their marks for things, having but few things to mark down, they easily found marks enough for them. As they grew further acquainted with the world, and wanted more characters, they invented them, and the number increasing by degrees, it might cause no great trouble to persons who were skilled in the received characters, and had only to learn the new ones as they were invented. But it is strange, that a nation should go on in this method for thousands of years, and as the Chinese have really done; one would think, that it must easily be foreseen to what a troublesome number their letters, must in

[a] Their letters are 60, 80, or 120,000, says Walton; 54,409 say other writers; and Le Comte says, that he is no learned man amongst them who does not understand 15 or 20,000 of their letters.

in time grow, and that a sense of the common convenience should, at one time or other have put them upon trying to reduce them; but we find, in fact, they have not done it. The Chinese report that their letters were invented by Fohi, or Noah; and in reality, both their letters, and their language seem so odd, that they might well pass for the invention of the early and uncultivated ages of mankind. Without doubt the Chinese have added to the number of their letters, since the time of their emperor Fohi, and, probably altered the sound of their old words, and made some new ones; but they differ so remarkably, both in writing and language, from the rest of mankind, that I think they are the descendants of men, who never came to Shinaar, and who had no concern or communication with those who were thence dispersed, by the confusion of Babel, over the face of the earth.

We have no remains, nor so much as any hints in ancient writers, to induce us to think, that this sort of writing was ever used by any of the nations that were dispersed from Babel. We read of no letters on this side of India truly ancient, but what were designed to express the words of the people who wrote them. Laertius[o] indeed seems to hint that the Babylonians had anciently a sacred character, different from the letters in common use: and Eusebius,[p] from Philo-Biblius, represents Sanchoniathon, to have searched

[o] Burnet. Archæolog. p. 86.

[p] Præp. Evang l. 1. c. 9.

records written in a character of this sort. The sacred letters of Egypt are frequently mentioned: there were two pillars inscribed in this sort of letters, at the tomb of Isis and Osiris; and Strabo speaks of a pillar in memory of Sesostris,[q] which had these characters cut upon it; and the remains of Thyoth were, without doubt, written in this character.[r] If we consider that Herodotus and Diodorus mention only two sorts of letters, the sacred and common;[s] and that Clemens Alexandrinus, and Porphyry, and the later writers, who take in the hieroglyphics, mention[t] three sorts; it will, perhaps, induce us to think with Dr. Burnet,[u] that the sacred letters of the Egyptians were different from their hieroglyphics, and that the hieroglyphics were not in use in the first times. It is true, Diodorus,[x] by his description of the sacred letters, makes them to be hieroglyphics; but I imagine that he happened to do so, because hieroglyphics being in use before his time, and the sacred letters, which were distinct from them, being then wholly laid aside, he knew but of two sorts, the hieroglyphics and the common letters; and so took the sacred letters which he found mentioned by those who wrote before him, to be the hieroglyphics. But Porphyry very evidently distinguishes them one from the other: he calls the sacred letters,

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[q] Lib. 16. [r] Euseb. Chron.

[s] Herod. in Eutepe. Diod. lib. 1.

[t] Strom. l. 5. Porph. de Vita Pythag. p. 185.

[u] Archæolog. [x] Lib. 3.

Ἱερογλυφικα καθολογουμενα κατα μιμησιν· and the common hieroglyphics, Συμβολικα αλληγορουμενα κατα τινας Αινιγμους. It is, indeed, something difficult to apprehend how letters can be said to imitate the things designed by them; however, we find this was an ancient notion. Plato puts it into the mouth of Socrates.[y] But though for these reasons, I think there was a ancient character in Egypt, distinct from both the vulgar letters, and common hieroglyphics; yet I cannot agree with Dr. Burnet, that it was like the letters used in China. The Chinese letters express no words, or particular sounds whatsoever; but the old Egyptian letters did, as appears plainly from the account we have[z] of Agathodæmon's translating them. The remains of Tyoth were *inscriptions on pillars*— στηλων ιερα διαλεκτω και ιερογραφικοις γραμμασι κεχαραχθρισμενων *written upon, in sacred language, and in sacred characters*: and Agathodæmon translated them, εν τῃς ιερας διαλεκτω εις την Ελληνιδα φωνην γραμμασιν Ἱερογλυφικοις, *out of the sacred language into the Greek tongue, in sacred letters*, i. e. he changed the language, but he used the same letters in which Tyoth wrote.[a] Here, therefore, we see, that the

[y] In Cratylo. [z] Euseb. in Chron.

[a] Bishop Stillingfleet, and several other writers, translate ιερογλυφικοις γραμμασιν *hieroglyphic characters*; and the learned Bishop remarks upon the passage as follows: "It is well still, that this history should be translated into hieroglyphic characters; what kind of translation is that? We had thought hieroglyphics had been representations of

sacred letters were capable of being used to express the words of different languages, and were therefore not like the Chinese, or of the same sort with the first letters of mankind, which expressed no words at all. Plato [b] says, that Thyoth was the first who distinguished letters by vowels and consonants, mutes and liquids, and was the author of the art of grammar. I doubt these improvements are more modern than the times of Thyoth. However, Plato's opinion in this matter is an evidence that there was no notion in his days of Thyoth's using any other than alphabetical letters.

The use of alphabetical letters, therefore, began very early in the second world, probably not long after the dispersion of mankind; for the records of the Chaldean astronomy reach almost up to this time, and Thyoths's inscribing pillars was not above two centuries later. Alphabetical letters were perhaps invented both in Assyria and in Egypt, and to one or other of these two nations all other countries are indebted for the use of them. We find the great pro-

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things, and not of sounds and letters, or words. How could this history at first have been written in any tongue, when it was in hieroglyphics? Do hieroglyphics speak in several languages? And are they capable of changing their tongues?" The reader will easily observe from this remark, that ιερογλυφικοις γραμμασιν, in the passage before us, should be translated not *hieroglyphics*, but *sacred letters*, and then the sense will be clear and easy.

[b] In Philebo. p. 274.

ject at Babel, next to the building of the tower, was the improvement of language; for, this caused the confusion which scattered mankind over the face of the earth. And if the course they took in this affair was such as I imagined, namely, an attempt to dissolve the monysllables, of which the first language of mankind consisted, into words of various lengths, in order to furnish themselves with new sets of names for new things; it may be conceived that a project of this sort might by degrees lead to the invention of alphabetical letters. It is not likely that they immediately hit upon an alphabet, but they made attempts, and came to it by degrees.

If we look into the Hebrew tongue, which, before it was improved, was perhaps the original language of the world, we shall find that its dissylables are generally two monosyllable words put together: thus, the word *barah, to eat*, is only *bar*, the old word for *beer, to declare*; and *rah*, the old word for *raah, to see*. So the word *kashah, to gather*, is only the word *kash*, which signifies *straw*, and *sash, to rejoice*. *Ranal, to be moved*, is only the old word *ran*, which was afterwards written *ranan, to be evil;* and *nain*, which was anciently written *nan, to direct the eye*. *Abah, to be willing*, is made of two words, *ab, a father*, and *bah*, the old word for *bohu;* for our lexicons derive *bohu* from an ancient word *bah*, or *bahah*. This observation may, I believe, be carried through the whole language; there is hardly a Hebrew dissyllable, except such only as were anciently pronounced monosyllables, or such as are derived from some theme, and made up of the letters of that

theme, with some additional affix, but what are plainly and evidently two words, (i. e. two significant sounds) joined together; and I dare say, instances of this kind are not to be found in any of the modern languages. This, therefore, was the method which men took to make words of more syllables than one, they joined together their monosyllables, which afforded a new set of words for enlarging their language; and if this be allowed me, it will, I think, lead us to the first step taken towards altering the first characters of mankind. As they only doubled their sounds, so they might at first only repeat their marks, and the two marks put together, which singly were the characters of the single words, were the first way of writing the double ones. This I think must bring them a very considerable step towards the contriving a method of making letters to stand for sounds, and not for words. When men spake in monosyllables only, and made such marks for the things they spoke of, as the fancy of the first author had invented, and custom had made familiar to all that used them; they might go on, as the Chinese have, and never think of making their marks stand for the words they spoke, but rather for the things they meant to express by them; but when they once came to think of doubling or joining their marks, in a manner that should accord with the composition of their words, this would evidently lead them to consider strictly that as sounds may be made the means of expressing our thoughts, by agreeing to use particular sounds for such thoughts as we would express by them; so also may characters be made the marks of particular sounds, by agreeing

what character shall be used for one sound, and what for another. To give an instance from some one of the words I have before mentioned: suppose *kashash* to be the new-invented word, designed to signify what we call *to gather*, and suppose this new word to be made by agreeing, as I said, to put two known words together, *kash*, the word for *straw*, and *sash*, *to rejoice*; and suppose the ancient character for *kash* was ʁ, and for *sash* was ʂ, the character, then, for *kasash* would be ʁʂ. Here, then, it would be remarkable, that the reader, however he might not observe it, when he met either of these characters single, yet could not but see, when he met them together, that each of them stood in the compound word, for a sound, and not for a thing; for the two sounds, one of which each character was to express, were, when put together, to signify a very different thing from those, which each of them single would have offered. If language, therefore, was altered as I have hinted, which seems very probable, from considering the nature of the Hebrew dissyllables; and if this alteration of language led to such a duplication of character as I have imagined, which is a method very easy and natural for men to fall into; we may see that they would be engaged in making characters stand for sounds before they were aware of it, and they could hardly do so long, before they must consider it; and if they come once to consider it, they would go on apace from one thing to another, they would observe how many sounds the words they had in use might be compounded of, and be hereby led to make as many characters as they could frame single sounds, into

which all others might be resolved, and this would lead them directly to an alphabet.

It is pretty certain that various nations, from a difference of pronunciation, or from the different turn of imagination that is always found in different men, would hardly, though agreeing in a general scheme for the framing their letters, yet happen to frame an alphabet exactly the same, in either shape or number of letters; and this we find true in fact: the Arabian and Persian alphabet have such a similitude, that they were probably derived one from the other. And the old Hebrew and Arabian (and perhaps the old Egyptian) characters agree in so many respects, as to give reason to suppose that they were formed from one common plan; though they certainly so differ in others, that we cannot but think that the authors of them sat down and formed, though upon a common scheme, yet in their own way, in the countries which they planted. It is very probable, that there may have been in the world several other alphabets very different from these. I think I have read of a country in India, where they use an alphabet of sixty-five letters; and Diodorus Siculus[c] informs us, that the island of Taprobane, which we now call Ceylon, they anciently used but seven; but perhaps the reader may be better informed in this matter, if he consults some books to which Bishop Walton[d] directs, and which I have not had an opportunity of seeing, viz. Postellus de 12 Linguis, Ducretus de Linguis et Characteribus

[c] Lib. 2. [d] Prolegom.

omnium Linguarum; the alphabetical tables of various characters, published at Francfort 1596; and Ja. Bonav. Hepburn's seventy Alphabets, published at Rome 1616.

The characters which are now commonly used in Europe being, as I have said, derived from the ancient Latin; the ancient Latin from the old Greek letters; the Greek letters from the Phoenician; and the Phoenician, Syrian, ancient Hebrew, and Assyrian, having been much the same, I could willingly, before I close this essay, add a few observations upon each of these in their order.

1. Now the ancient Hebrew alphabet was not written in the present Hebrew character, but in a letter pretty much the same as the present Samaritan. Buxtorf and Lightfoot were not of this opinion; but it has been abundantly proved by Scaliger, Causaubon, Grotius, Vossius, Bochart, Father Morin, Brerewood, Capellus, and Walton. Bishop Walton has proved it beyond contradiction, from some ancient Jerusalem coins, called shekels.[e] The Rabbins, Talmudists, Christian Fathers, Origen and St. Jerome, all believed that there had been a change of the Hebrew letters. St. Jerome asserts it very expressly.[f] Spanheim and Dr. Allix took the other side of the question; but they have answered only a small part of the arguments against them. This change of the Hebrew letters is

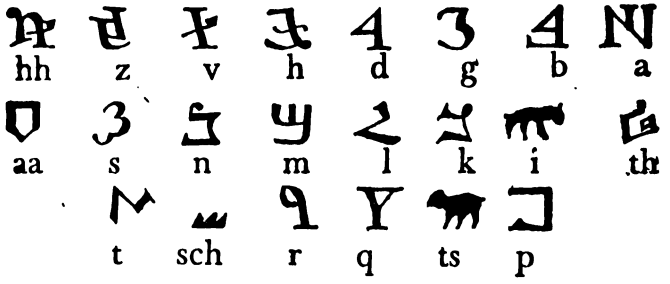
[e] De Siclorum formis, in Prolegom. iii. sect. 29, 30. See Dr. Prideaux's Connect. vol. 1. b. 5. p. 496.

[f] In Prefat. ad lib. Regum.

supposed to have been made by Ezra, after the rebuilding the temple, when he wrote out a new copy of the law.

The old Hebrew letters, nearly the same still used by the Samaritans, were written in this same [s] manner.

SAMARITAN 1.



Supposed by Theseus Ambrosius to have been formed after the course and movements of nature.

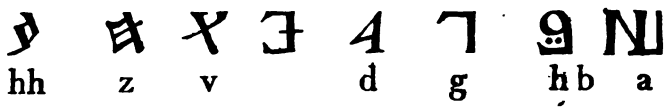
SAMARITAN 2.

The above is taken from the Samaritan coins in Bp. Walton's Polyglott.

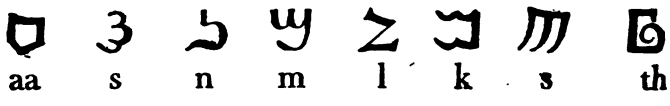
[s] There is no reason to think the first and most ancient Hebrew alphabet had thus many letters. Irenæus says expressly, Ipsæ antiquæ et primæ Hebræorum literæ, et sacerdotales nuncupatæ *decem* quidem sunt numero.

Like to these were the Syrian, and Phœnician; the best copy we can take of the old Phœnician, is the following;

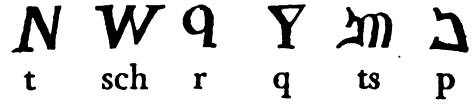
PHŒNICIAN 1.



hh z v d g h b a



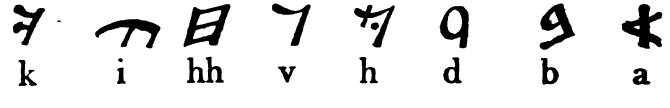
aa s n m l k s th



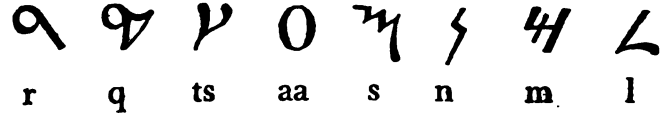
t sch r q ts p

For the preceding Alphabet, see Scaliger, p. 80; and Montfaucon's Palæogr. Græc. p. 122.

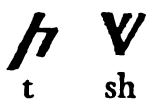
PHŒNICIAN 2.



k i hh v h d b a

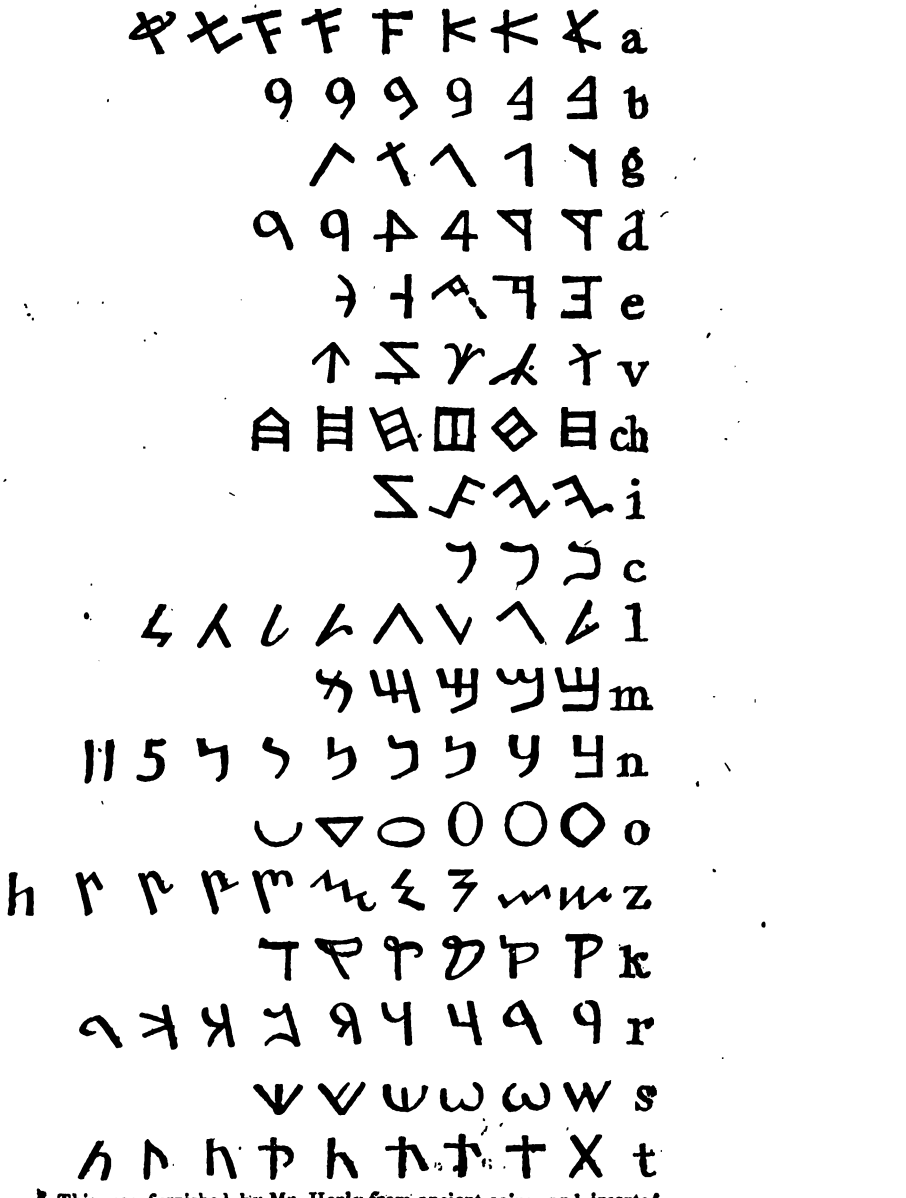


r q ts aa s n m l



t sh

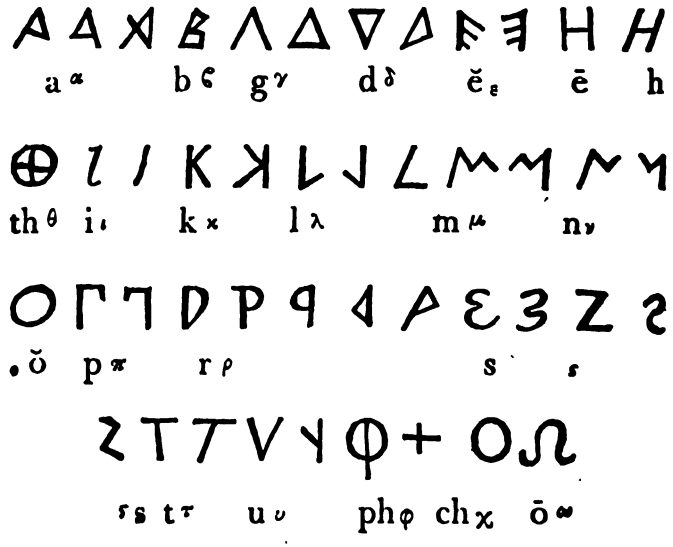
This is given on the authority of the Abbé Barthelemy, who is said to have taken it from inscriptions preserved in Malta, and from Syrian medals. See Ency. Franc. Plan. v.



[b] This was furnished by Mr. Henly from ancient coins, and inserted by Mr. Fry in his Pantographia, who has kindly lent the Editor this, and several other of his alphabets, for the use of this work.—EDIT.

From the Phœnician were derived the ancient Greek letters, which, according to the oldest specimen we have of them, were thus written:

Greek Alphabet written from *left to right* and from *right to left*, taken from the Sigean Inscription.



The Greek letters were not anciently written from the left hand to the right, as we now write them, but from the right hand to the left, as the Hebrew and Phœnicians wrote; and then the letters being inverted, had a nearer resemblance to the Phœnician character, from whence they were taken.

In time the Greeks left off writing from the right to the left in part, and retained it in part; that is, they

began one line from the left to right, the next from right to left, the third from left to right, &c. This they called writing βουστροφηδον or, as oxen plough; the lines in this way of writing being drawn in the manner of furrows. Pausanias mentions an inscription written in this manner,[i] namely, that on the chest of Cypselus in the temple of Juno, at Corinth. Periander, the son of Cypselus, is supposed to be the person who inscribed it. The laws of Solon were written in this manner.[k] And Chishull's Sigean inscription is a complete specimen of this sort of writing.

The letter H in the old Greek alphabet, did not sound what we now call η, but was an aspirate like the English H. This was proved by Athenæus,[l] and has been since further evinced by Spanheim, from several ancient coins;[m] and there are no less than four instances of it in the Sigean inscription.

The letters E and O were anciently written in the same characters, whether they were long or short vowels; for the ancient alphabet had neither η υ, nor ω. Simonides was the person that invented these two long vowels.[o] The Ionians first used them, which occasioned Suidas to call them Ionian letters.[p] The Athenians came into them by degrees, and they were

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[i] Pausanias, lib. 5. c. 17.

[k] See Suid. et Harpocrat. in ο κατεχθιν νομος.

[l] Athenæi Deipnosophist. l. 9. c. 12.

[m] Spanheim. de præstant. et usu numism. antiq. Disert. 2. p. 95.

[n] See Plato in Cratylo.

[o] Suidas in Simonide.

[p] Id. in Σαμιων ο δημος.

ordered to be used in the public inscriptions when Euclid was Archon. Before ω came into use, οι was written for ῳ, in the dative case singular of nouns.[q]

The ancient alphabet having at first no υ, ου in the genitive case was constantly written ο: this appears both from Quintilian and Athenæus. Athenæus, in his convivium,[r] introduces Achæus remarking that Διονυσιο was written upon an ancient cup, whereupon all the Sophists determined that the letter υ was omitted, because the ancients wrote ο instead of ου. Quintilian[s] remarks, that ο was anciently used sometimes for a long vowel, sometimes for a short vowel, and sometimes for a syllable, that is, the dipthong ου.

We now come to the letters that have been taken into the Greek alphabet: and the first of them is *F*: this is a character which is not now found in it; it was invented by the Æolians, who avoided having two vowels come together in a word, by inserting this *F* where they happened to do so; they called it a *digamma*, and the sound or power of it was much the same as our English *f*: Priscian gives several instances of it; and in the word δαιον, wrote ϝαΐϝον; Δημοφοον, wrote Δημοφοϝον; Λαοκοον, wrote Λαοκοϝον; and we have a remarkable instance of it in the inscription on the pedestal of the Colossus at Delos,[t] where

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[q] See Scholiast in Euripid. in Phœniss. v. 688. And there are two instances of it in the inscriptions on the Theban Tripods. Lib. 11. c. 5.

[r] De Institut. Orator. l. c. 7.

[t] Montfaucon. Palæograph. Græca. l. 2. c. 1. p. 121.

αϝυτο is written for αυτο; the inscription is a short one, and the letters are nearly the same with those in the Sigean inscription; it is in modern characters as follows:

η αϝυτη λιθη ειμι ανδριας κ᾽ το σφηλας

The *F* was probably derived from the Hebrew or Phœnician vau, which was thus written ϟ :

The letter V, or *υ*, though an ascititious letter, was certainly in the Greek alphabet very early, evidently before the times of this pedestal, or of the Sigean stone. It is used on the pedestal of the Colossus for the vowel *u* in the word *αFυτο*; but I fancy it was designed originally for a softer digamma, as the consonant *υ* is softer than *f*. We have instances of this in some Greek words, and it is remarkable that the Latins took it so, and have for that reason put the V for the Greek *F*, in the words they have taken out of the one tongue into the other. This may be observed in the words Αορνος, anciently written A*F*ορνος, in Latin *Avernus*; and Ἀργειοι *Argivi*. We find in Priscian, δαFιον, or δαυιον, for δημιον, the first the most ancient way, the second perhaps after the softer V came into use. He gives another instance in the word ηως, written αυως. Dionysius Halicarnasseus observes, that ουελια was anciently wrote *F*ελια,[a] and in Latin we write it *Velia*.

Z was thought by Pliny, to be an original letter of the Greek alphabet; and he quotes Aristotle in proof

[a] Dion. Halicar. lib. 1. c. 20.

of it.[x] Scaliger derives it from the Hebrew or Phœnician Zain, and thinks it was another gamma γ, from its being written in a word in Dan. i. 8.[y] I should rather think it one of Simouides, or Palamedes' letters, it being commonly used as a double consonant, and stands for ΣΔ, or ΔΣ, as is evident from Σδευς, and Δσευς, being two ancient words for Ζευς.

Θ, Φ, X, are allowed to be Palamedes' letters, which are only Cadmus' T, Π, K, aspirated, and were probably at first written TH, ΠH, KH.[z]

There are two letters more belonging to the Greek alphabet, ξ and ψ. These are only two consonants but together, and if Palamedes was not the author of them, are certainly later than Cadmus. ξ is only κς, or γς; ψ is only πς, or βς; this has been observed and proved from several instances in the Baudelotian Marble; and there is such an analogy between the genitive cases of nouns and their nominatives, and the future tenses of verbs and their present tenses, that the spelling of the one shews evidently how the other were anciently written; thus σαρκος and φλογος came from the ancient nominatives σαρκς, and φλγος; and ωπς and φλεβς were the ancient words instead of ωψ

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[x] Plin. lib. 7. c. 56.

[y] Degrees. ad. numb. Euseb. 1617.

[z] There are several instances of this in the inscriptions on the Theban Tripods, ανεθηκε is twice written ANATHEKE, and χ is written HK in two words, viz. in συγγμαχειν, and in Μεναρχειν· and φ is written ΠH, in the word Αμφιτρεων.

and φλεψ, as appears from their genitives ωος and φλεβος; κατηλιψ, κατηλιφθ; and στξ, στιχος, shews that ψ is sometimes used for φς, and ξ for χς.

The Greek alphabet did thus in time grow from sixteen to twenty-four letters; they were never reckoned more; so that the *F* and *V* must be counted to be but one and the same, for so they were originally; until these four-and-twenty were received and used, according to Eusebius, 1617 years after the birth of Abraham, in the year after the overthrow of the Athenian power.[a] Now the surrender of Athens to the Lacedæmonians happening the year before the [b] magistracy of Euclid, this agrees perfectly well with the account of Suidas, who supposes the twenty-four letters to be received at Athens, by the persuasion of Archinous the son of Athenæus, when Euclid was Archon at Athens.[c]

The Greek letters did not keep exactly their first shape, for it is observable that length of time introduces changes into all characters. We do not make alterations in our letters designedly, but accidentally; all men never did write exactly alike; and hence it has happened, that frequent mutations are to be found in all ancient specimens of letters. And thus the old Greek A was sometimes written, Δ, and afterwards *A*; Λ was written *C*, and Δ was written *D*; *l* was written L; P was written *R*; S was written Ϛ, and V, Y; when the Greek characters had received these small

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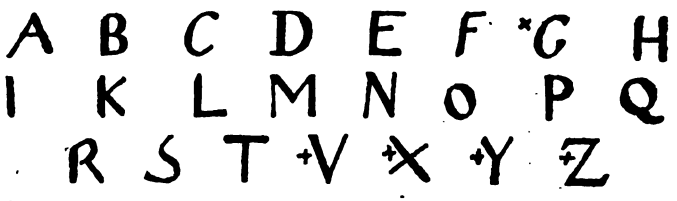
[a] See Chron. Euseb. [b] Usher's Annals.

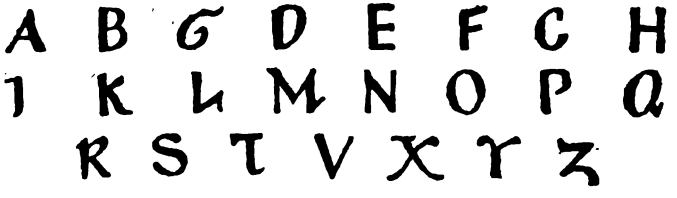
[c] Suidas in Σαμιων ο Δημ.

mutations, the old Roman letters might be easily derived from them, for they were thus written:

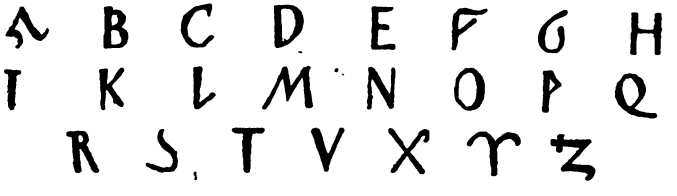
Ancient Latin Alphabet.



Another Form.



Another Form, in use about the beginning of the Christian Æra.

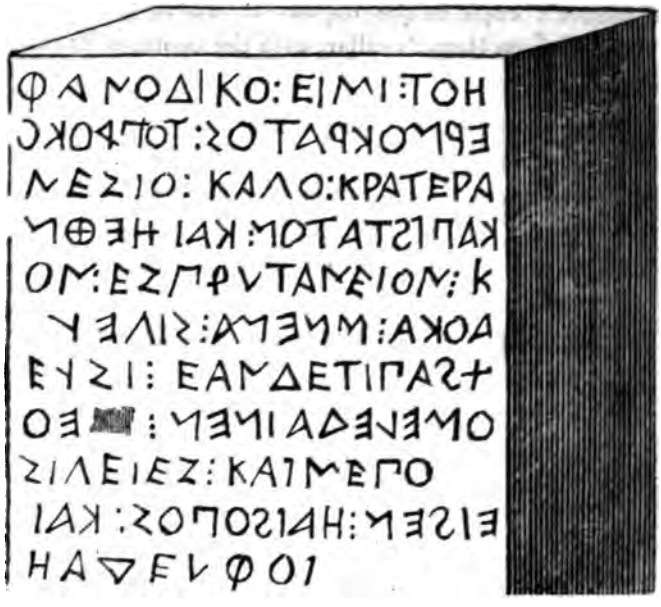


The first was in use seven hundred years before CHRIST, except those letters marked with an * which have been added since.

Time and the improvement of good hands brought the characters of both languages to a more exact shape, as may be seen by comparing the letters in Scaliger's copy of the tripods at Thebes, and the inscription on Herod's pillar, with the common Roman Letters.

It may perhaps be entertaining to the reader, to see copies of some of the ancient inscriptions: I have therefore taken copies of the Sigean, and of the inscriptions on the base of the Statue of Jupiter Urius, with a fac simile of the Codex Alexandrinus, in which the reader may see instances of what we have been treating of, if he has not at hand the works of better writers.

The Sigean inscription, from which, according to Dr. Chishull, the ancient Greek alphabet has been taken, which is found p. 224.



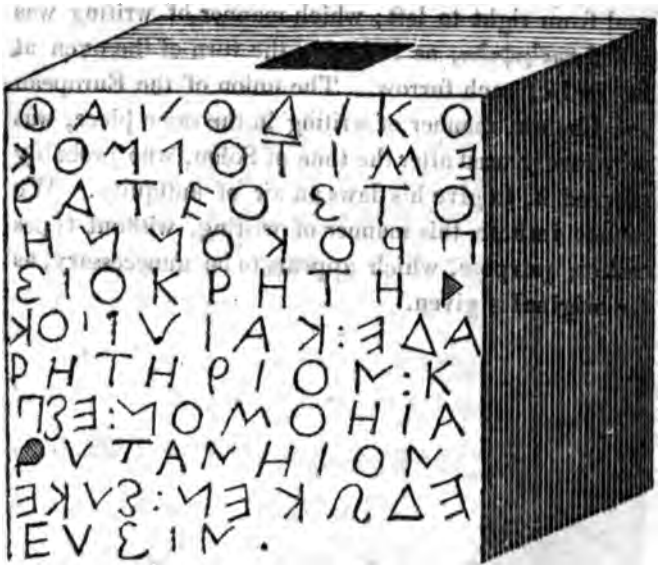
In modern Characters thus :	Verbal Translation,
Φανοδικο : ειμι : το ηερμοκρατος : το προκονησιο : κραγο : κρατερα καπιστατον : και ηθμον : ες πρυτανειον : κοδοκα : μνημα : σιγευσι : εαν δε τι πασχω μιλεδαινειν : ιο σιγειες : και μεποιησεν : ηλισοπος : και καδιλφοι :	Phanodici sum, *filii* Hermocratis Proconesii. Et ego Craterem et *Crateris* Basin et Colum ad Prytaneum dedi memoriæ ergò Sigeis. Siquid verò patiar curare *me jubeo Sigeos.* Et fecit me Esopus atque fratres.

CHISHULL, p. 4.

The preceding is a *fac simile* of the most ancient part of the Sigean inscription; the reading of

which, in the common small Greek letter, is given below, observing that every second line of the original is read from right to left; which manner of writing was called βουστροφηδον, as imitating the turn of the oxen at the end of each furrow. The union of the European and Eastern manner of writing in the same piece, was very rarely used after the time of Solon, who probably adopted it, to give his laws an air of antiquity. We cannot imitate this manner of writing, without types cast on purpose, which appears to be unnecessary, as the original is given.

Sigean Inscription, second or more modern part.

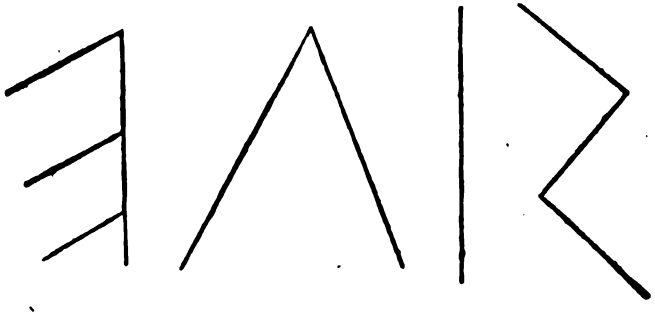


This is that part of the inscription which was copied after Simonides had completed the Greek alphabet, and is as follows, reading every second line from right to left:

Φανοδικο	Phanodici
εμι τορμοκ	sum, *filii* Her-
ρατεος το	mocratis Pro-
ωροκοννη	conesii. Cra-
σιο κρητηρ	terem vero et
α δε : και υποκ	Hypocraterium
ρητηριον: κ	et Colum ad
αι ηθμον ες π	Prytaneum
ρυτανηιον	dedit is
εδωκεν συκε	Sigeis.
ευσιν.	

This secondary inscription does not vary greatly from the original: it, however, puts υποχκηπριον for επιδαλον, which does not alter the sense; and omits the words χαγω and μνημα. The long vowels are regularly used, but H as an aspirate is omitted.

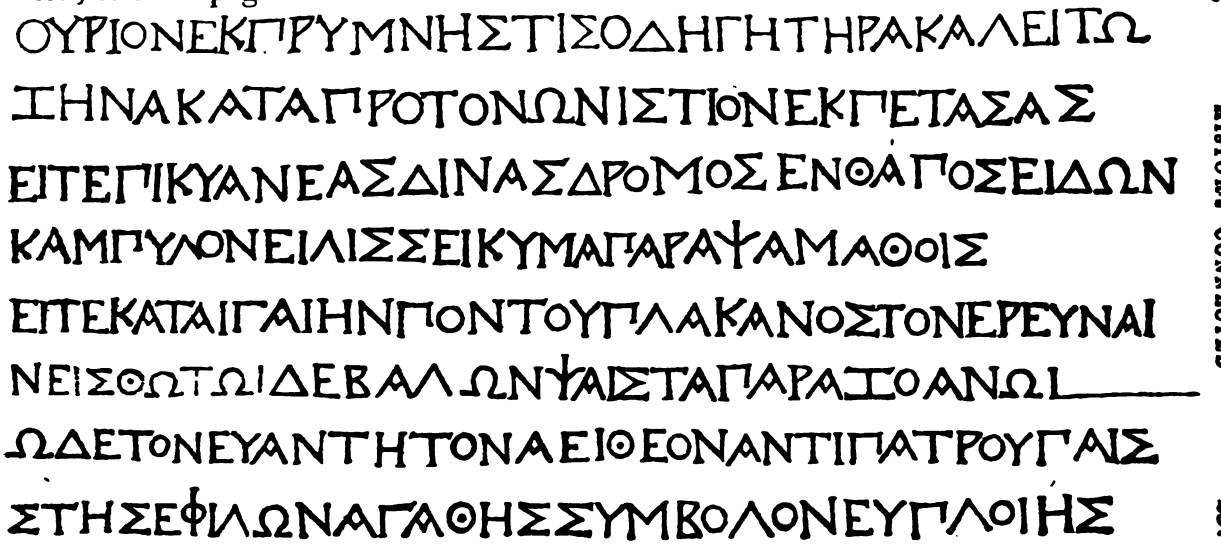
This word ΣΙΓΕ written from right to left, represents the real form and magnitude of the letters in the Sigean inscription.



The stone on which this inscription was found, is a beautiful piece of white marble, *nine feet* high, *two feet* broad, and *eight inches* thick. It has its name from the promontory and town of *Sigeum*, near the ancient *Troy*, where it was found. From the excavation at the top of the stone, it appears to have supported the statue of *Phanodicus*, whose name it bears. It may lay claim to the remotest antiquity of any thing of this kind, being at least two thousand four hundred years old.

Dr. Bentley (EPISTOLÆ, p. 240, lately published (1807) by Dr. Burney) denies that it ever supported a statue of Phanodicus, or any person else: but the inscription specifies a gift made by Phanodicus of three vessels, a *Crater*, a *Bason*, and a *Strainer*, for the use of the Prytaneum, or hall of the magistrates at Sigeum, and that the inscription was at first engraved *on the vessels* which were made by Esop and his companions, and afterwards by an ignorant engraver, rudely inscribed on this stone. See his Letter to Dr. Mead in the above collection.

Copy of a very ancient Inscription on the Base of the Statue of Jupiter Urius. See Chishull's Antiquitates Asiaticæ, p. 59—62. & the corrections at the end of the same work, two last pages.



The Statue of Jupiter Urius, the sender of favourable winds, was erected at Chalcedon, near the entrance of the Bosphorus, by Philo, the statuary, the son of Antipater, who was patronized by Hephestion, the friend of Alexander the Great.

The following is a correct reading of it in the modern Greek character, with an English translation.

Ουριον εκ πρυμνης τις οδηγησηρα καλειτω
Ζηνα, καλα προλογων ιριον εκπεμπασας.
Ειτ επι Κυανεας δικας δρομος, ενθα Ποσειδων
Καμπυλον ειλισσει κυμα πυρα ψαμαθοις,
Ειτε κατ' Αιγαιην πουλυ πλακα νοτον ερευνα,
Νεισθω, τωδε βαλων ψαιστα παρα ξοανω.
Ωδε τον ευαντηλιον αει θεον, Αντιπατρου παις,
Στησε Φιλων, αγαθης συμβολον ευπλοιης.

See Chishull's corrections at the end of his work. 1728.

EDIT

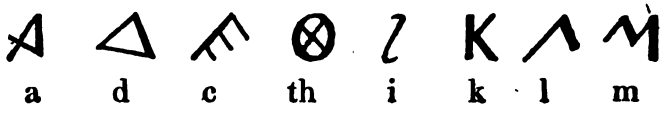
TRANSLATION.

Whoever hence expands his sails, let him
From the stern invoke the protection of
Jupiter Urius.
Whether towards the Euxine he bend his course,
Where Neptune rolls the curling wave among the sands,
Or seek his return towards the Ægean;
To this statue let him offer the votive cake.
In this interesting attitude,
Philo, of Antipater,
Repres nign De
As an on- erou

A *fac simile* (containing a part of the LORD's Prayer, Luke xi. 2, &c.) of that ancient and valuable MS. of the New Testament in the British Museum, presented to King Charles I, in 1628, by Cyrillus, Lucaris, patriarch of Alexandria; which is supposed to have been written upwards of one thousand four hundred years.

ΠΤΕΡΗΜΩΝΟΕΝΤΟΙCΟΥΝΟΙC
ΑΓΙΑCΘΗΤΩΤΟΟΝΟΜΑCΟΥ.
ΕΛΘΕΤΩΗΒΑCΙΛΕΙΑCΟΥ.ΓΕΝΗ
ΘΗΤΟΤΟΘΗΛΗΜΑCΟΥΩC
ΕΝΟΥΝΩΙΚΑΙΕΠΙΓΗC.ΤΟΝ
ΑΡΤΟΝΗΜΩΝΤΟΝΕΠΙΟΥCΙΟ
ΔΙΔΟΥΗΜΕΙΝΤΟΙΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΑ
ΚΑΙΑΦΕCΗΜΙΝΤΑCΑΜΑΡΤΙΑC
ΗΜΩΝ.ΚΑΙΓΑΡΑΥΤΟΙΑΦΙΟΜΕ

An old Greek Alphabet taken from inscriptions found on Mount Cynthus, in the Island of Delos.



a d c th i k l m

n o r s t u ph

For the inscriptions on the Tripods at Thebes, and on Herod's Pillar, see Scaliger, and Chishull's *Antiquitates Asiaticæ*, p. 11. & 33.

THE

SACRED AND PROFANE

HISTORY OF THE WORLD CONNECTED.

BOOK V.

WHEN Athothes, Thyoth, or Pathrusim the king of Thebais died, about the year of the world two thousand and two, he was succeeded in part of his dominions by a person of the same name; and the other part was governed by a king named Cencenes. The country of Thebais is divided into two parts by the river Nile. Thyoth, the second of that name, governed the country towards Asia; the other part, which was situate on the west side of the river, was subject to Cencenes, and called the kingdom of *This*, from a city of[a] that name near Abydos, which city was the metropolis of this new erected kingdom. The kings of *This* never raised themselves to any height of glory; we have little more of them than their names.

[a] Θις πολις Αιγυπτια πλησιον Ἀβυδω. Steph. in θ

Athothes, the second king of Thebes, reigned thirty-two years; and Cencenes, the first king of *This*, thirty-one. About this time, at Memphis, Mesochis, Soiphis, Tesortasis, and in Lower Egypt, called the land of Tanis, Aristarchus and Spanius succeeded one another as kings of these countries.

A. M. 2034, when Athothes the second king of Thebes died, Diabies succeeded him; who reigned nineteen years, and died A. M. 2053; and the year before Diabies began his reign, Venephes succeeded Cencenes at *This:* Venephes built some pyramids in a plain towards Libya, in the desart of Cochome.[b] Of the succeeding kings of Egypt, we have nothing but names, and the dates of their reigns, which the reader may see by consulting Sir John Marsham, who has given the most exact tables of them.

There was a family which dwelt amongst the Babylonians, and made a considerable figure in these ages, and must therefore be particularly mentioned. At the division of mankind, Arphaxad, the son of Shem, lived near the place which Ashur some time after built for them,[c] and which was named Ur of the Chaldees. Part of his family lived here with him. He had two grandsons, Peleg and Jocktan: Jocktan and his associates travelled, and were seated from Mesha to

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[b] Sir J. Marsham supposes these pyramids to be in number eighteen, of a smaller size than those which were afterwards reckoned amongst the wonders of the world. Can. Chron. p. 46.

[c] Vid. Sup.

Sephar; Peleg and his descendants lived here at Ur, until the latter end of the life of Terah, the father of Abram.[d] The Chaldeans, who at this time governed this country, were corrupted in their religion; and Terah's ancestors at first complied with them,[e] but Terah endeavoured to begin a reformation, and put his family upon adhering to the true worship of GOD. This caused a rupture between him and the Chaldeans, and occasioned the first persecution on account of religion, for the Chaldeans drove them out of the land.[f]

Terah hereupon, with Abram, Nahor, and his sons, and with Lot the son of Haran (for Haran died before they left Ur,) and with as many as would adhere to them, travelled in order to find a more quiet residence. They crossed over Mesopotamia, and settled in the parts of it most distant from the Babylonians; and as they increased they built themselves houses, and in time made a little town or city, which they named the city of Nahor; and they called the land, the land of Haran, perhaps in remembrance of their relation of that name, who was dead. Here they lived until the death of Terah.[g]

After Terah's death there arose some difference about religion amongst them also. Terah does not seem to have brought his family to the true worship of GOD; and Nahor, who continued in the land of Haran after Terah died, appears evidently to have

[d] Gen. xi. 28.—31. [e] Jos. xxiv. 2.
[f] Judith v. 8. [g] Gen. xi. 28.—32.

deviated from it. The GOD of Abraham and the GOD of Nahor is so mentioned,[h] as to imply a difference of religion between Laban and Jacob, founded upon some different sentiments of their fore-fathers; for if their sentiments about the Deity had been exactly alike, an oath in the same uniform expression had been sufficiently binding to both of them, and there had been no need for each to adjure the other, as it were, by his own GOD: nay, we are expressly told, that both Terah and Nahor went astray in their religion, for which reason Abraham was ordered to remove from them. *Your fathers* (says[i] Joshua) *dwelt on the other side of the Flood*, (or river, namely *Euphrates*, i. e. in *Mesopotamia;*) *in old time even Terah the father of Abram, and the father of Nahor, and they served other gods; and I took your father from the other side the Flood*, or river, *and led him through all the land of Canaan*. Abraham therefore, upon account of some defection in his family from the true worship of GOD, upon receiving an admonition to do so,[k] took Sarah his wife, and Lot his brother's son, and all their cattle and substance, and as many persons as belonged to them, and went away from his country and kindred, and father's house, and travelled into the land of Canaan.

The land of Canaan[l] was at this time possessed by the descendants of Canaan the son of Ham, so that Abram was only a traveller or sojourner in it. The

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[h] Gen. xxxi. ver. 53.
[i] Chap. xxiv. ver. 2.
[k] Gen. xii. 1. 4. 6
[l] Ver. 6.

earth was not at this time so full of people, but that there was in every country ground enough, and to spare; and any traveller might come with his flocks and herds, and find convenient places enough to sustain himself and family, without doing injury to, or receiving molestation from any person. Accordingly, Abraham travelled until he came to the plain of Moreh in Sichem;[m] where it pleased GOD to repeat a promise which he had before made him, that he would give all that land to his children; upon which Abram built an altar, and worshipped. Some time after he removed thence, to a mountain between Bethel and Hai,[n] and there he built another altar. He continued in this place but a little time, for he kept on travelling to the South, till at length there happened a famine in Canaan,[o] upon account of which he went to live in Egypt. This is the history of Abraham's family, for above three hundred years after the dispersion of mankind; and since the first æra or epoch of the Hebrew chronology is commonly made to end here; (for from this journey of Abram's into Canaan, they begin the four hundred and thirty years, during which time the children of Israel were only sojourners, having only unsettled habitations up and down in kingdoms, not their own)[p] I shall carry on my history no further at present, but shall only endeavour to fix the time of these transactions; and since we have met

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[m] Gen. xii. 7.
[n] Ver. 8.
[o] Ver. 10.
[p] Exod. xii. 40.

with accounts of different religions, thus early in the world, I will endeavour to inquire what religion was at this time, and how and wherein it differed in different countries.

As to the time of these transactions, it is easy to fix them; for first of all, from the Flood to the birth of Terah, the father of Abram, is two hundred and twenty-two years, as may be computed from the genealogies given us by Moses, Gen. xi.[q] *And Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran.*[r] We must not understand this passage as if Terah had these three sons when he was seventy years old, or as if Abraham was born in the seventieth year of Terah's life, for Abraham was but[s] seventy-five years old when he travelled into Canaan, and he did not go into Canaan, until Terah's death,[t] and Terah lived to be two hundred and five years old; so that Abram must be born in the one hundred and thirtieth year of his father's life. Haran might perhaps be born in the seventieth year of Terah, for he was, by many

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[q] Ver. 10. 25. From the Flood to the birth of Arphaxad, are two years; thence to the birth of Salah, thirty-five; thence to the birth of Eber, thirty; thence to the birth of Peleg, thirty-four; thence to the birth of Reu, thirty; thence to the birth of Serug, thirty-two; thence to the birth of Nahor, thirty; thence to the birth of Terah, twenty-nine; in all, two hundred and twenty-two years.

[r] Gen. xi. 26.

[s] Chap. xii, ver. 4.

[t] Chap. xi. 32. Acts vii. 4.

years the eldest son; he had a daughter [u] Milcah, old enough to be wife to Nahor brother of Abram: and Lot the son of Haran seems to have been of much the same age with Abram. The removal from Ur of the Chaldees into Mesopotamia was in the seventieth year of Abram: for the promise made to Abram was before [x] he dwelt in Haran, and it was four hundred and thirty years [y] before the law; but from the birth of Isaac to the law, was four hundred years; [z] and therefore the promise made at Ur, four hundred and thirty years before the law, was made thirty years before the birth of Isaac, who was born when Abram was one hundred years old; so that the promise made thirty years before, was when Abram was seventy; and we must suppose the removal to Haran to be upon this promise, and much about the same time. Abram went into Canaan when he was seventy-five years old, [a] i. e. five years after he came to Haran. And thus Abram was born in the one hundred and thirtieth year

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[u] Gen. xi. 29. [x] Acts vii. 2. [y] Gal. iii. 17.

[z] Isaac was the seed to whom the promise was made, Heb. xi. 18. Gen. xvii. 19. And he was born in a strange land, and the seed was to be a stranger in a land not theirs for four hundred years, before God would begin to take vengeance upon the nation that oppressed them, Gen. xv. 13, 14, so from hence, to Moses' appearing for the delivery of the Israelites, will be found to be about four hundred years.

[a] Gen. xii. 4. ut supr.

of Terah, three hundred and fifty two years after the Flood, A. M. 2001, and went from Ur to Haran when he was seventy years old. i.e. four hundred and twenty two years after the Flood, A.M. 2078, then he removed into Canaan five years after, i. e. four hundred and twenty seven years after the Flood, A. M. 2083. His going into Egypt was probably two or three years after this; and, according to the tables of the Egyptian kings of these times, Abram's coming into Egypt was about the fifteenth year of Toegar Amachus, the sixth king of Thebes, and about the tenth year of Miebidus, the sixth king of *This*, and about the thirty-third year of Achis, the sixth king of Memphis. The name of the king of Lower Egypt, into whose kingdom Abram travelled, is lost, according to Syncellus; the Scripture calls him Pharaoh, but that is only a general name belonging to the Egyptian kings. Africanus[b] says, his name was Ramessomenes. According to Castor,[c] Europs, the second king of Sycyon, reigned at this time.

In my foregoing computations I have indeed fixed the birth of Abraham according to the Hebrew chronology, which seems to me the most authentic. The chronology of these times, both in the Septuagint and Samaritan versions, is in many particulars different from the Hebrew; and if I had followed either of them, I must have placed the birth of Abraham later than I have done by several hundreds of years. But there is so little to be said in favour of the Septuagint

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[b] In Chron. Euseb. [c] In eod. ibid.

or Samaritan chronology, in the particulars wherein it here differs from the Hebrew; that I think I shall incur no blame for not adhering to them. I am not willing to enlarge upon this subject; the reader may see it fully treated in Capellus' Chronologia Sacra, prefixed to Bishop Walton's Polyglott Bible; and he will find in general, that the Samaritan chronology of this period is not of a piece with the rest of the Samaritan chronology, but bears such a similitude to that of the Septuagint, that it may be justly suspected to have been taken from it, to supply some defect in the Samaritan copy. It was indeed not very carefully transcribed, for it differs in some particulars; but the differences are such, as unskilful or careless transcribers may be supposed to have occasioned.

As to the Septuagint, it differs from itself in the different copies or editions which we have of it; and the chronology of these times, given us from the Septuagint, by Eusebius and Africanus, is so different from what we now find in the printed Septuagints, that it is evident they had seen copies different from any that are now extant. So that there would be some difficulty in determining what are the true numbers of the Septuagint, if we were disposed to follow them; but it is of no great moment to settle which are the best readings, because at last the best is but erroneous, as differing from the Hebrew text, which seems to offer the most authentic chronology. The differences between the Greek and Hebrew chronology (setting aside the variations occasioned most probably by transcribers) may be reduced to two heads. 1. In the lives of the Patriarchs, from Shem to Terah, the Septuagint in-

gospel. 8. Later copyers and editors finding it thus in the margin, took it into the text.[e]

Let us now inquire what religion was at this time, and how it differed in different countries. Corruptions in religion were, indeed, very early; but it is very probable that they were at first but few. The religion of mankind was almost one and the same for many years after they were divided from one another. We read that the Chaldeans were so zealous in their errors, even in Abram's days, that they expelled him their country for his dissenting from them; but we have no reason to think, that either the Canaanite or the Egyptian were as yet devoted to a false religion. The king of Salem, who was a Canaanite, of a different family from Abram, was a priest of the Most High God[f] in the country of which he was king; and we do not find that Abram met any disturbance upon account of his religion from the inhabitants of that country; nor have we reason to think that his religion was at this time different from theirs. In the same manner when he came to Egypt, God is said to have sent judgments upon Pharoah's[g] family, because of Abram's wife; and the king of Egypt seems in no wise a stranger to the true God, but to have had the fear of him before his eyes, and to be influenced by it in all his actions. Religion was at this time, the observance of what God had been pleased to reveal concerning himself, and his worship; and without doubt mankind, in all parts of the world, for some generations, adhered to it. The only wicked persons mentioned

[e] Capell. Chron Sacr. [f] Heb. vii. 1. [g] Gen. xii. 17.

about this time in the world, were the Sodomites; and their depravity was, not the corruption of false religion, but immorality. But I shall examine this subject a little more exactly; and the best method I can do it in, will be to trace and consider the several particulars of the true religion of Abram; and in the next place to inquire what reasons we have to think that the other nations of the world agreed with Abram in his religion; and lastly, to examine when, and how, by what steps and means they departed from it.

I. Let us consider what was the religion of Abram. And here, as all religion must necessarily consist of two parts, namely, of some things to be believed, and others to be performed; so we must inquire into Abram's religion under these two heads. All religion, I say, consists of faith and practice. Faith is a part even of natural religion; for *He that cometh unto God,*[h] *must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that serve him*; and this faith will oblige him to perform the practical part of religion; for if there is a God, and he is a rewarder of his servants, it necessarily follows, that we must take care to serve and please him. But let us inquire what the former part of Abram's religion was; what his faith was; what he believed.

In general, Abram must unavoidably have had a very lively sense, and firm belief of the common attributes of Almighty God; of which he must have been convinced from the history of mankind, from

[h] Heb. xi. 6.

GOD's dealing with the world. The very deluge must have fully instructed him in this faith. We cannot imagine that he could receive the accounts of that astonishing vengeance, executed upon a wicked world, which, without doubt, were transmitted down from Noah's sons to their descendants, especially in those families which adhered to the worship of the true GOD. I say, he could not have the account of this remarkable transaction transmitted to him in all its circumstances, without being instructed from it to think of GOD. First, That he takes cognizance of what is done on the earth. Secondly, That he is a lover of virtue, but an abhorrer of vice; for he preserved a well-disposed family, but destroyed a wicked and sinful world. Thirdly, That GOD has infinite power to command winds and rains, seas and elements, to execute his will. Fourthly, That as is his power, so is his mercy; he was not desirous that men should perish; he warned them of their ruin, in order to their amendment, one hundred and twenty years before he executed his vengeance upon them. A sense of these things must have led him, lastly, to know and believe that a Being of this sort was to be served and worshipped, feared and obeyed. A general faith of this sort Abram must have had, from a consideration and knowledge of what had been done in the world; and the world was as yet so young, the very persons saved in the Flood being still alive, and their immediate children and grand-children, being the chief actors in these times, that no part of mankind can well be conceived to have deviated much from this faith. But then, Abram's faith went still further,

for he believed some things which were revealed to him by ALMIGHTY GOD, over and above the general truths before-mentioned. As it had pleased GOD to design from the fall of man, a scheme, which in Scripture is sometimes [i] called the *will of GOD*, sometimes [k] the *counsel or design of GOD*; sometimes, *the hidden wisdom*, or *purpose of GOD*, by which mankind were to be redeemed from the ruin, which the sin of our first parents had involved us in. So he was pleased to give various hints and discoveries of it to several persons in different ages of the world, from Adam, to the very time when this purpose, so long before concerted, was to take effect and be accomplished; and the receiving and believing the intimations thus given, was a part of the religion of the faithful, in their several generations.

From Adam to the Flood, we have but one intimation of this sort, namely, that which is contained in the threatening to the serpent,[l] *That the seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head*: a proposition, which, if taken singly, and by itself, may perhaps seem to us something dark and obscure; but I would observe, from the very learned Dr. Sherlock,[m]

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[i] Ephes. i. 9. Heb. 10. 7-10.

[k] Acts ii. 23. xx. 27. Ephes. i. 11. 1 Cor. ii. 7. Ephes. iii. 11. 2 Tim. i. 9.

[l] Gen. iii. 15.

[m] Dr. Sherlock's Use and Intent of Prophecy, Disc. iii. well worth every one's serious perusal, and which gives

that those writers who endeavour to pervert the meaning of this promise, and to give the words a sense not relating to the Messiah, under a pretence of adhering to a literal interpretation of Scripture, cannot, in this place, make it speak common sense; and I might add, that the words of the prophecy cannot, without breaking through all rules of grammar and construction, admit of the interpretation which they would put upon them. They enquire, by what rules of language, *the seed of the woman* must signify one particular person? I answer, in the place before us, it cannot possibly signify any thing else; the verse, if translated directly from the Hebrew, would run thus: *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed. He shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* If by the seed of the woman, had been meant the descendants of Eve, in the plural number, it should have been, *they shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise their heels.* The Septuagint took particular care in their translation to preserve the true meaning of it, by not using a pronoun which might refer to the word seed, but a personal pronoun, which best answers the Hebrew word הוּא, or *he*, in English. Αυτος σε τηρησει κεφαλην, και συ τηρησεις αυτη πτερναν.

When God was pleased to admonish Abram to go

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better account of what I am in this place hinting, than I can express, unless I were to transcribe at large what he has offered.

out of his country, from his kindred and relations; he encouraged him by giving larger intimations of the mercies which he designed for the world. The first of these intimations is recorded Gen. xii. GOD there promises, upon requiring him to leave his kindred and father's house, "That he would give him and his descendants abundance of happiness and prosperity; that of him should arise a great nation; that his name should be famous; that he should be a blessing," i. e. exceedingly happy, or blessed; "That he would advance his friends, *bless them that blessed him*, and depress his enemies, or *curse them that cursed him*." He added, moreover, that *in him all the families of the earth should be blessed*, but not in him personally, for it was afterwards explained to him,[n] *In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.*

This expression of all nations being blessed in Abram, or in Abram's seed, is by some writers said to mean no more, than that Abram and his posterity should be so happy, as that those who had a mind to bless, or wish well to their friends, should propose them as an example or pattern of the favours of heaven. *In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed*, i. e. all people of the world shall bless, or wish well to their friends [*in thee*, i. e.] according to what they see in thee, according to the measure of thy happiness. To be blessed in one, says a learned writer,[o] implies, according to the genius of the He-

[n] Gen. xxii. 18. [o] Jurieu Critical History. v. 1. c. 1.

brew language, as much as to wish the same degree of happiness, as is possessed by the person alluded to, or proposed as the pattern of the blessing. Of this, (says the same writer) we have a remarkable instance in the history of the blessing bestowed by Jacob upon Ephraim and Manasseh: [r] *And he blessed them that day, saying, In thee shall Israel bless, saying, God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh;* whence it is plain, that the meaning of Jacob in saying, that *in thee shall Israel bless*, was, that Ephraim and Manasseh should be proposed as examples of blessing; so that people were to wish to those they intended to bless, the same happiness which God had bestowed upon Ephraim and Manasseh. As this exposition of the promise to Abram is conceived sufficient to shew, that that promise had no relation to the Messiah; so I have expressed it in its whole force, and think it may be very clearly confuted. 1. The learned critic above named has very evidently mistaken the expression. *To bless a person in one*, especially when explained by additional words, *God make thee as such an one*, which is the case in the blessing of Ephraim and Manasseh; may easily be apprehended to be proposing the person so mentioned as a pattern of the blessing or happiness wished to him; and that, without laying any stress upon the genius or idiom of the Hebrew tongue, for the words can really have no other signification. But to say a person shall *be blessed in*, or *by thee*, without

[r] Genesis xlviii. 20.

any addition of words to give the expression another meaning; is evidently to say, that thou shalt bless or make that person happy, by being a means of his prosperity. The expression [g] in the one place is *in thee shall Israel bless*, or express their good wishes to one another; and the expression is unquestionably clear, for it is added how they should so bless, namely, by saying, *God make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh.* In the other passage it is, *all families shall be blessed in* or by *thee*, i. e. shall be made happy by thee; for this is the natural sense of the expression; and unless something else had been added, the words cannot be turned to any other meaning. 2. None of the ancient versions give the words our author's sense, but some of them the very sense in which I have explained them. 3. The best interpreters have always taken them in the sense for which I am contending. St. Paul expressly tells us, that by *the seed of Abram* was meant, not the descendants of Abram, in the plural number, but a single person; and the writer of the book of the Acts [h] mentions CHRIST as the particular person, who, according to this promise, was to bless the world. Indeed, the supposing this promise to be fulfilled in CHRIST is absolutely necessary; because neither

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[g] The expression Gen. xlviii. 20, is בך יברך ישראל in which the verb is active. The other expression is,

ונברכו בך כל משפחת האדמה Gen. xii. 3. or,

והתברכו בזרעך כל גוי הארץ Gen. xxii. 18. In both which places the verb is passive.

[h] Gal. iii. 16. [h] Acts iii. 25.

Abram, nor any person descended from him, but CHRIST, was ever, in any tolerable sense, a blessing, or mean of happiness to all the families of the earth. Here, therefore, GOD enlarged the subject of Abram's faith, and revealed to him, that a person should descend from him, who would be a blessing to the whole world. There are several places in Scripture, where GOD, as circumstances required, repeated the whole or part of this promise; in the plain of Moreh; [t] and again, after Lot and Abram [u] were parted from one another; and afterwards the particulars of this promise were further explained, as I shall observe in its proper place. This therefore was the particular faith of Abram, over and besides what reason and observation might dictate to him concerning GOD and his providence. He received the discoveries which GOD was pleased to make him, of designing an universal benefit to the world, in a person to be descended from him; and Abram believed whatever it pleased GOD to discover to him, and such *his belief was counted to him for righteousness;* it was a part of his religion.

There is a passage in the New Testament, which, as it relates to Abram's faith, may not improperly be considered in this place. Our blessed Saviour told the Jews, [x] that Abraham had seen his day, and rejoiced at it; from whence it is concluded, that Abraham had a knowledge of JESUS CHRIST to come, and that by looking forward, through faith, he saw him as if then present, and embraced the expectation of him, and rejoiced in him as his Saviour.

[t] Gen. xii. 7. [u] Chap. xiii. ver. 14, &c. [x] John viii. 56.

But to this it is objected, 1. That it no where appears that Abram knew any thing of CHRIST,[y] any further than that some one descendant from himself should be a blessing to the whole world. 2. They say, that interpreting this passage in this manner, seems to destroy the truth which our Saviour intended to establish by it. Our Saviour spoke it (they say) in order to hint to the Jews, that he was a greater person than what they took him to be; for that he not only now appeared and lived amongst them, but that he had ages before been seen by Abraham; from whence the Jews concluded, that he meant to assert what he upon their not believing it assured them was true, verse 58, that he was older than Abraham; but if Abraham saw his day only by looking forward in faith to the expectation of it, no such conclusion could follow from his so seeing it; he might thus see it, and yet the Saviour, whose day he so looked for, might be ages younger and later than himself; therefore, 3. As the design of this passage was to prove CHRIST older than Abraham, so they argue the true meaning of it is, that CHRIST was himself seen by Abraham, and so he really was; for, as many of the fathers rightly conjecture,[z] the divine person, who

[y] We have an account of Abram's faith, Heb. xi. and there is no mention in it of his believing in CHRIST.

[z] See Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. 1. c. 3. Justin. Martyr. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 275, 277, 280, 281, 282. Irenæus Heres. l. 4. c. 11. Clem. Alex. Pædag. l. 1. c. 7. Tertull. contra Judæos c. 9. Id. contra Marcion. l. 2. c. 27. l. 3. c. 6. & contra Prax. c. 14. Cum multis aliis, qui citantur, & vindicantur in illust. Bullii Def. Fidei Nicenæ, c. 1.

was so often seen by Abraham, when GOD was said to appear to him, was our blessed Saviour then in being, ages before he took upon him the seed of Abraham. Abraham therefore, literally speaking, saw him, and our Saviour might very justly conclude from Abraham's thus seeing him, that he was really in being before Abraham. I have expressed this objection in its full force, but 1 thing the objectors do not consider the accounts we have of Abraham's worship. Abraham built his altars not unto GOD, *whom no man hath seen at any time*,[a] but unto the LORD, who appeared to him; and in all the accounts which we have of his prayers, we find they were offered up in the name of this Lord. Thus at Beersheba, he invoked *in the name of Jehovah, the everlasting GOD*.[b] Our English translation very erroneously renders the place, *he called upon the name of Jehovah*; but the expression *kara be shem* never signifies, to call upon the name. *Kara shem* would signify, to invoke, or call upon the name; or, *kara el shem* would signify, to cry unto the name; but *kara be shem* signifies, to invoke in the name, and seems to be used where the true worshippers of GOD offered their prayers in the name of the true mediator; or where the idolaters offered their prayers in the name of false ones;[c] for as the true worshippers had but *one GOD* and *one LORD*, so the false worshippers had *gods many* and *lords many*.[d]

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[a] Gen. xii. 7. [b] Chap. xxi. 33. See Exod. xxiii. 21. and Isaiah ix. 6.

[c] 1 Kings xviii. 26. [d] 1 Corinth. viii. 5.

We have several instances of *kara*, and a noun after it, sometimes with, and sometimes without the particle *el*, and then it signifies to call upon the person there mentioned. Thus *kara* Jehovah, is to call upon the LORD,[e] and *kara el* Jehovah imports the same;[f] but *kara be shem* is either, to *name by the name*, (as I have formerly hinted) or, to *invoke in the name*, when it is used as an expression of religious worship.

As we have hitherto considered the faith of Abram; we have now to treat of that part of his religion which concerned his practice in the worship of GOD. The way and method of worshipping GOD in these early times was that of sacrifice; and, as I have already hinted that sacrifices were a divine, and not a human institution, it seems most reasonable to suppose, that there were some prescribed rules and appointments for the due and regular performance of this their worship. Plato[g] lays it down for a general rule, that all laws and appointments about divine matters must come from the Deity; and his opinion herein is agreeable to that of the sacred writer,[h] who observes, that a person cannot be capable of being a priest, to offer sacrifice for sins, unless he be appointed by GOD unto that office; for *no man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that was called of GOD as was Aaron*. It is, I think, therefore most probable, that as GOD at first appointed sacrifices to be offered, so he also directed,

[e] Psalm xiv. 4. xvii. 6. xxxi. 7. liii. 4. cxviii. 5. &c.
[f] 1 Samuel xii. 17. Jonah i. 6, &c.
[g] De Legibus l. 6. p. 759. [h] Heb. v. 4.

1, Who should be the priest or sacrificer, to offer them; 2. What sorts of sacrifices should be offered; 3, What creatures should be sacrificed, and what not; and 4, With what rites and ceremonies their sacrifices should be performed.

As to the person who was to be the priest, or sacrificer; it is generally agreed by the best writers of all sorts, that the honour of performing this office belonged to the eldest or first-born of each family. "Before[i] the tabernacle was erected, private altars and high-places were in use for sacrifices, and the eldest of each family performed the sacrifice," and that in the following manner: 1, When the children of a family were to offer a sacrifice, then the father was the priest: In this manner Cain and Abel offered their sacrifice; for it is not said,[k] that either of them actually offered, but that each of them brought his offering. It is probable that Adam their father offered it for them. 2. When the sons of a family were met together to offer sacrifice, after they came to be themselves fathers of houses and families of their own, and were separated from their father and father's house, their father not being present with them, the eldest son was the priest, or sacrificer, for himself and his brethren; and this was the honour which Jacob coveted when he bought Esau's birth-right. "He had a most earnest desire (say the Jewish writers[l]) to obtain the privilege of the first-born from Esau; because, as we have it by tra-

[i] Tract. Melikim in Mishna. 14.
[l] Bereschit Rabba. fol. 7.
[k] Gen. iv. 3, 4.

dition, before the tabernacle, whilst private altars were in use, the eldest or first-born was the sacrificer or priest of the family." And it is for this reason that Esau was called profane [n] for selling his birth-right; because he shewed himself to have but little value for that religious office, which was annexed to it. 3. All the children of a family, younger as well as elder, when they were settled in the world, and had families of their own, had the right of sacrificing for their own families, as heads of them; of which we have several instances in the sacrifices of Jacob in his return from Laban with his wives and children.

As to the several sorts of sacrifices which were to be offered, we do not find an express mention of any other than these following. The expiatory sacrifice was that which Abel was supposed to offer; and it is generally held by all the best writers, that the father of every family offered this sacrifice, as Job did for his children,[o] daily. 2. They had precatory sacrifices, which were burnt offerings of several creatures, in order to obtain from GOD some particular favours; of which sort was the sacrifice of Noah after the Flood. *Noah builded an altar unto the* LORD, *and took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings upon the altar. And the* LORD *smelled a sweet savour, and said, I will not again curse the ground, neither will I smite every thing living any more—And* GOD *blessed Noah, and*

[n] Hebrews xii. 16. [o] Job. i. 5.

said.—This sacrifice of Noah, says Josephus,[p] was offered, in order to obtain from GOD a promise, that the ancient and natural course of things should be continued, without being interrupted by any farther calamities. If we attend to the circumstances belonging to this sacrifice, we find (chapter viii.) that GOD promised this favour, and enjoined them the observance of some laws, and covenanted, that they should assuredly have those mercies for which he had prayed. In much the same manner GOD covenanted with Abram, upon his offering one of these precatory sacrifices, to give him the land of Canaan.[q] Abram said unto GOD, *Whereby shall I know that I shall inherit it?* And GOD said unto him, *take me a heifer of three years old, and a she goat of three years old, and a ram of three years old, and a turtle dove, and a young pigeon; and he took unto him all these, and divided them in the midst, and laid each piece one against another, but the birds divided he not.* This was the method and order in which he laid them upon the altar for a sacrifice; and he sat down to watch them, that the fowls of the air might not seize upon them. About the going down of the sun Abram fell asleep, and in a dream GOD revealed to him how, and in what manner he designed to give his descendants the land of Canaan.

[p] Antiqitat. l. 1 c. 3.

[q] Gen. xv. 8—18.

[o] Gen. viii. 20.

And after sun-set, *Behold a smoking*[r] *furnace and a burning lamp passed between those pieces*, i. e. a fire from heaven consumed the sacrifice, and *in that same day*, i. e. then, or at that time, *the* LORD *made a covenant with Abram, saying*, &c. Thus I have set down all the particulars of this sacrifice, it being the fullest description we meet with, of this sort of sacrifice. These precatory sacrifices might also be called fœderal; the Psalmist alludes to them, where he speaks of those *that* had *made a covenant with God by sacrifice*.[s]

3. A third sort of sacrifice in use in these times, was a burnt offering of some parts of a creature, with a feast upon the remaining parts, in order to ratify and confirm some agreement or league between man and man. Of this we have a particular instance in the sacrifice and feast of Jacob in the mount with Laban and his brethren. 4, They offered by way of

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[r] Here is evidently a mistake in our Hebrew Bibles; עבר, *to pass* and בער, *to kindle*, or *burn*, are words of exactly the same letters; and through the mistake of some transcriber, *âabar* is in this place instead of *bâar*, which would make the sense much more clear; the meaning of the place is, that the parts of the sacrifice smoked first, and afterwards took fire; and the words rightly taken, do very well express this; behold a smoking furnace and a burning lamp [not *passed*] *but* kindled amongst the pieces.

[s] Psalm l. 5.

gratitude, oblations of the fruits and product of their tillage: *'Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the* LORD. 5. They made an offering of oil or wine, when they made a vow, or laid themselves under a solemn promise to perform some duty, if it should please GOD to favour them with some desired blessing. Thus Jacob when he went towards Haran[t] vowed a vow, saying, *If GOD will be with me, and will keep me, in this way that I go, and will give me bread to eat, and raiment to put on, so that I come again to my father's house in peace, then the* LORD *shall be my* GOD *and I will give the tenth, &c.* And in order to bind himself to this vow, he took the stone—and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. In the same manner in another place,[u] *Jacob set up a pillar in the place where* GOD *talked with him, even a pillar of stone, and he poured a drink offering thereon, and he poured oil thereon.* These are, I think, all the several sorts of offerings and sacrifices, which we can prove to have been in use in these early times; if they used any other, they have left us no hints of them.

Let us now enquire what creatures were offered in sacrifice, and what not? To which I answer, all *clean* beasts whatsoever, and no other; and all *clean* fowls, and no other. What the number of the *clean* beasts and fowls were, and when or how that distinction began, are points, of which the learned have not given a full and satisfactory account. It seems most probable,

[t] Gen. xxviii. 18.—22. [u] Chap. xxxv. ver. 14.

from the first chapter of Leviticus, compared with the sacrifice of Noah after the Flood, and with that of Abram, Gen. xv. that the *clean* beasts used for sacrifice were of the cow-kind, or of the sheep, or of the goats, and that the *clean* fowls were only turtle-doves and young pigeons. These were all the creatures which GOD appointed the Jews for burnt-offerings; and these were the creatures which Abram offered in his solemn sacrifice, in order to obtain the assurance of the land of Canaan. In this sort of sacrifice it was usual to offer of every sort of creature used for sacrifice, for so Noah's sacrifice, which was of this sort, is described, *He took of every clean beast, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings upon the altar.* Noah took, says R. Eleazar, of all sorts of clean beasts, namely, the bullock, the lamb, and the goat; and from among the birds, the pigeon and turtle-dove, and sacrificed them.

Our last inquiry was, what ceremonies were used at this time in religion: and here we can have but little to offer, because we have few particulars handed down to us. If we look into the journeyings of Abram, we find, that wherever he made any stop, he constantly built an altar. This he did in the plain of Moreh;[x] and afterwards when he removed, he built another in the place where he pitched his tent, between Bethel and Hai;[y] and afterwards another, when he came to dwell in the plain of Mamre. In the same

[x] Gen. xii. 7. [y] Ver. 8. Chap. xiii. ver. 18.

manner Isaac built an altar at Beersheba;[a] and Jacob afterwards, both at Shalem[a] and at Bethel.[b] In all places where they fixed their habitations, they left us these monuments of their being very punctual and exact performers of the offices of religion. But what the particular ceremonies used in their religious performances were, or what were the stated, or occasional times of such performances, we cannot say with any certainty; therefore, though I think, with many learned writers, that a great deal may be guessed upon this subject, from observing what was afterwards enjoined in the law of Moses; yet all that amounting at most to no more than conjecture, I shall chuse to omit it in this place. We have indeed mention made of two particular ceremonies of religion, a very little after Abraham's time. Jacob, in order to prepare his family to offer sacrifice with him upon the altar which he designed to make at Bethel, bids them[c] *be clean* and *change your garments*. *Be clean*, i. e. wash yourselves, as Dr. Lightfoot[d] rightly interprets it; this being not only a most ancient usage, but a ceremony universally practised by all nations. It seems at first to have been appointed by GOD, to keep up in their minds the remembrance of the deluge; they were to use water upon their having contracted any defilements, in order to hint to them, how GOD

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[a] Gen. xxvi. ver. 25.
[a] Chap. xxxiv. ver. 20.
[b] Chap. xxxv. ver. 7.
[c] Chap. xxxv. 2.
[d] Har. Evang.

by water had formerly washed away all the pollutions of the world; for by a Flood of waters he washed away all the wicked and polluted men from off the face of the earth. That this was the first occasion of GOD's appointing water to be used for their purifications, seems very probable, from the several opinions which all sorts of writers have handed down to us about the deluge. We learn from Philo,[e] that the ancient Jews reputed the deluge to be a lustration or purification of the world; and Origen informs us,[f] that their opinion in this point was embraced by the first Christians; and the same writer[g] says, that some eminent Greek philosophers were of the same opinion. Plato likewise seems to hint it in several places[h] of his works, and I think I may say St. Peter alludes to this opinion,[i] where he compares the baptism of Christians to the water of the Flood.

As they had altars for their sacrifices; so they had *proseuchæ*, or places of retirement, to offer prayers unto GOD, at such times as they did not offer sacrifices with them. These *proseuchæ*, or places of prayer, were set round with trees, in order to make them the more retired. A place of this sort Abraham prepared for himself in Beersheba,[k] and in it *he called upon the name of the* LORD, *the everlasting* GOD.

There is one ceremony more, which was appointed to be observed by Abraham, and his posterity; namely circumcision, of which Moses has given a full account.[l]

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[e] Lib. quod deterior potior. p. 186.

[f] Contra Celsum. l. 4. p. 173. [g] Ib. 316.

[h] De Legib. l. 3. p. 676. & in al.

[i] 1 Pet. iii. 20, 21. [k] Gen. xxi. 33. [l] Chap. xvii.

II. We are in the next place to enquire how far the several nations at this time in the world agreed with Abram in his religion. Now, as all the nations at this time in the world, of any figure, or of which we have any accounts, were either the inhabitants of Persia, Assyria, Arabia, Canaan, or Egypt, I shall mention what may be offered concerning these, in their order.

First, the Persians, who, for some time, adhered to the pure and true worship of GOD. They are remarkable beyond other nations,[m] for having had amongst them a true account of the creation of the world; and they adhered very strictly to it, and founded all their religion upon it. The Persians were the children of Shem, by his son Elam, as Abraham and his descendants were by Arphaxad; therefore, the same common parent that instructed the one branch in the true religion, did also instruct the other. Dr. Hyde[n] remarks, that he had reason to think, they were very strict professors of it; though they gradually corrupted it, by introducing novelties and fancies of their own both into their faith and practice. He treats of the Persian religion under these three heads:—First, he says, the Persian religion was planted among them by Elam; but in time it was corrupted into Sabiism.[o] Secondly, their Sabiism was reformed by Abraham; but in time they relapsed into it again.

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[m] Hyde Religio veterum Persarum, cap. 3. [n] Id. c. 1.

[o] Sabians were the worshippers of the Host of Heaven. See Prideaux Connect. vol. i. b. iii.

Thirdly, They afterwards introduced Magiism.[p] According to this account, the Persians were fallen into the errors of the Sabians in Abraham's days, and were reduced by him back again to the true religion; but in this point, I think that learned writer is mistaken. All his accounts of their having been anciently Sabians, are taken either from the Mohamedan writers, or Greek historians; but these authorities only prove that they were Sabians before the Magian religion took place amongst them; but not that they were so as early as Abraham's days. He also imagines, that their religion was reformed by Abraham; and consequently, that it was corrupted before, or in his days. Their ancient accounts, he says, call their religion Millat Ibrahim, or Kish Abraham, i. e. the religion of Abraham; and their sacred book, which contains the doctrine of their religion, is called Sohfi Ibrahim, i. e. the book of Abraham. And he concludes from hence, that their first and most ancient religion being planted amongst them by Elam their first founder, their religion could not possibly be called the religion of Abraham, unless he had reformed it from some corruptions which had crept into it. Therefore, he gives it as his opinion, that Abraham did some time or other, in his life, reduce them back to the true worship; but it is remarkable, that he is very much at a loss to determine in what part of Abraham's life he

[p] Magians were worshippers of fire. See Prideaux Connect. ibid.

made this reformation. He says, they report that Abraham lived some part of his life in Bactria, agreeably to what is remarked by one of their writers, that Balch was the city of the prophet Abraham. Now the city Balch was situated in the farther parts of Persia, towards India; but Dr. Hyde allows, we cannot find from Scripture, that Abraham ever travelled that way; nay, further, that Balch was built by a king of Persia, long after Abraham's time; and that the true meaning of the expression above-cited, that Balch was the city of the prophet Abraham, was no more than this; that Balch was a city eminent for the profession of Abraham's religion. Again, he imagines that the Persians had been brought over to Abraham's religion by the overthrow which he gave the king of Elam and his associates, when he rescued Lot from him; but this is an unsupported and very improbable conjecture. The true reason for the Persians having been anciently recorded to be of Abraham's religion, seems more likely to be this: As the fame of Abraham, and his opposing the Chaldeans in their corruptions and innovations, was spread far and near over all the East, and had reached even to India, so, very probably, all Persia was full of it; and the Persians not being then corrupted, as the Chaldeans were, but persevering in the true worship of the GOD of heaven, for which Abraham was expelled Chaldea, might, upon the fame of his credit and reputation in the world, profess, and take care to deliver themselves down to posterity, as professors of his religion, in opposition to those innovations which prevailed in Chaldea. The

first religion, therefore, of the Persians, was the worship of the true GOD; and they continued in it for some time after Abraham was expelled Chaldea, having the same faith and worship as Abraham had; except only in those points concerning which he received instruction after his going into Haran and into Canaan.

The next people whose religion we are to consider, are the Chaldeans. They, indeed, persevered in the true religion only for a short time; for, as I before observed, about the seventh year of Abraham's life, the Chaldeans had so far departed from the worship of the GOD of heaven, and were so zealous in their errors, that upon Abraham's family refusing to join with them, they expelled him their country;[q] so that we must pass from them until we come to treat of the nations which were corrupted in their religion.

The people next to be considered are the Arabians, many of whom persevered in the true worship of GOD for several ages; of which Job was an instance, perhaps, in these times of which I am treating, and Jethro,[r] the priest of Midian, in the days of Moses. Their religion appears in no respect to have differed from that of Abraham; only, we do not find any proof that they were acquainted with the orders which were given him, or the revelations made to him after he came into Canaan.

And if we look amongst the Canaanites, here, as I before hinted, we shall find no reason to suppose, that

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[q] Judith v. 7, 8.

[r] Exodus xviii. 10—12.

their religion was different from that of Abraham. Abraham travelled many years up and down in this country, and was respected by the inhabitants of it as a person in great favour with GOD. Melchisedec, the king of Salem, was a priest of the Most High GOD; and he received and entertained Abraham as a true servant and particular favourite of that GOD, whose priest he himself was. *Blessed* (said he) *be Abraham, servant of the Most High GOD, possessor of heaven and earth.*[s] The Canaanites gave Abraham no manner of disturbance, as the Chaldeans had done, during all the time that he sojourned amongst them; and we have no reason to suppose that they differed from him in their religion. In the same manner when he came to Gerar,[t] into the land of the Philistines, he found Abimelech to be a good and virtuous king, one that received the favour of admonitions from GOD,[u] and shewed himself, by his obeying them, to be his true servant. Abraham, indeed, before he came among them, thought the Philistines were a wicked people, and imagined the fear of GOD was not in that place;[x] but the address of Abimelech to GOD, upon his receiving intimations that Sarah was Abraham's wife, shews how much he was mistaken in his opinion. *Lord, wilt thou slay a virtuous nation? Said he not unto me, She is my sister? and she, even she herself said, He is my brother. In the integrity of my*

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[s] Gen. xiv. 19.
[t] Chap. xx.
[u] Ver. 3.
[x] Ver. 11.

heart, and innocency of my hands have I done this.[y] We find also, that Abimelech made no scruple of admitting Abraham for a prophet, and of getting him to intercede for him. There is nothing in the whole account of this affair, which intimates a difference in religion between Abraham and Abimelech; nor any thing which can intimate that Abimelech was not a worshipper of GOD in great sincerity and integrity of heart. Such, I believe, was the state of the world at this time. The Chaldeans were something sooner settled than other nations, and so began to corrupt their religion more early; but in Abraham's time, all the other nations, or plantations, did still adhere to the true accounts of the creation and deluge, which their fathers had given them, and worshipped the true GOD, according to what had been revealed to them, and in a manner not different from the worship of Abraham; until GOD was pleased to make further revelations to Abraham, and to enjoin him rights and observances in religion, with which he had not acquainted other nations. Now, we shall find this true amongst those whom we are next to consider; for,

The Egyptians also at first worshipped the true GOD. For as Abraham was received at Gerar, so was he likewise entertained in Egypt.[z] We find, indeed, that the Egyptians fell into idolatry very early; but when they had thus departed from the

[y] Ver. 5.

[z] Genesis xii. 14, &c.

true worship of GOD, we see evident marks of it in their conversation with those who still adhered to it. For in Joseph's time we are told, that the *Egyptians might not eat bread with the Hebrews*,[a] *for that was then* counted *an abomination to them*; but in Abraham's time we meet nothing of this sort. Abraham was entertained by Pharaoh without the appearance of any indisposition towards him; or any the least sign of their having a different religion from that which Abraham himself professed and practised. The heathen writers give us some hints, that the Egyptians were at first worshippers of the true GOD. Plutarch testifies,[b] that in Upper Egypt, the inhabitants of that country paid no part of the taxes which were raised for the idolatrous worship, asserting that they owned no mortal being to be a god, but professed to worship their god Cneph only, whom they affirmed to be without beginning, and without end. Philo-Biblius informs us,[c] that in the Mythologic times, they represented this deity, called Cneph, by the figure of a serpent, with the head of a hawk in the middle of a circle. But then he further tells us, from the ancient records, that the God thus represented was the Creator of all Things, a Being incorruptible and eternal, without beginning and without parts; with several other attributes belonging to the

[a] Genesis, xliii. 32.

[b] Plut. de Iside & Osiride, p. 359.

[c] Eusebius præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10.

Supreme God. Agreeable to this, Porphyry calls this Egyptian Cneph τον δημιουργον, i. e. the Maker, or Creator of the universe.[d] If we search the Egyptian antiquities, we may find in their remains as noble and true notions of the Deity, as are to be met with in the antiquities of any other people. These were certainly their first principles, and as long as they adhered to these, so long they preserved the knowledge of the true religion; but afterwards, when they came to add to these, speculations of their own, then by degrees they corrupted and lost it.

Thus, at first, there was a general agreement about religion in the world; and if we look into the particulars of the heathen religion, even after they were much corrupted, we may evidently find several practices, as well as principles, sufficient to convince us, that the ancient religion in all parts of the world, was originally the same. Sacrifices were used in every country; and though by degrees they were disfigured by many human ceremonies and inventions, in the way and method of using them; yet I might say, the heathens generally offered the same sorts of sacrifices as were appointed to Noah, to Abraham, and to the other servants of the true God. They offered expiatory sacrifices, to make atonement for their sins; and precatory sacrifices, to obtain extraordinary favours; they had also their vows and their oblations. Many instances of all these may be found in Homer, and in many

[d] Id. lib. 3. c. 11.

other heathen writers. In the next place, priests were appointed to be the sacrificers for them. And though, when civil society began to be formed, it became as necessary to have national priests, as it was in families to have private ones; instances of which we meet with among the true worshippers of GOD, Melchisedec at Salem, as well as Anius at Delphos,[e] being both priest and king; and GOD himself appointing the Israelites a national priest, when they afterwards became a people; yet we find that among the heathens, for many ages, the original appointment of the head of every family to be the priest and sacrificer to his family, was inviolably maintained, as may be proved from their private feasts, where neither the public, nor consequently the public ministers of religion were concerned. Thus Homer very remarkably represents Eumæus, the keeper of Ulysses' cattle, officiating as priest[f] in the sacrifice which he made when he entertained Ulysses, who visited him in the dress and habit of a poor traveller. In the same manner we have reason to think, that for a great while the creatures used in sacrifice were the same as Noah called the *clean beasts*; for supposing *them* to be, as I before observed, only bullocks, sheep, or goats; these were most anciently and most generally used by the heathens. Time, indeed, and a continual increase of superstition, made numerous additions to all parts of their religion; but Job's friends amongst the Arabians used

[e] Virgil. Æn. 3.

[f] Odyss. 14. l. 432. 446.

bullocks and rams for their burnt-offerings,[g] and the Moabites[h] did the same in the time of Moses. The common expiations mentioned in Homer, are either [ἑκατόμβας ταύρων ἠδ' αἰγῶν] hetacombs of bulls or goats, or [ἀρνῶν αἰγῶνίς τελείων] lambs and goats without blemish; and Achilles joins them all together,[i] supposing that an offering of one or other of these was wanting to avert the anger of Apollo, hereby intimating that these were the common and ordinary expiations. As to the ceremonies used in early days, we have so short an account of what were used in the true religion, and there was such a variety of additions made to the false, that we cannot offer a large comparison between them. However, we may observe, that the ancient ceremonies which I have taken notice of, namely, of washing and changing their garments, in order to approach the altar, universally took place in all the several sorts of the heathen worship. Various authors might be cited to prove this, which the reader may see in Dr. Spencer's Dissertation upon the ancient purifications; but there are two lines of the Latin poet, which describe these two rites in words so agreeable to the directions which Jacob gave his family about them, that I shall set them down as a specimen of the rest.

Casta placent superis, pura cum veste venite,
Et manibus puris sumite fontis aquam.—*Tibul.*

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[g] Job. xlii. 8.
[h] Numbers, xxii. 1.
[i] Homer Il. 1.

Upon the whole it is remarkable, that some learned writers, and Dr. Spencer in particular, have imagined that the resemblance between the ancient heathen religions, and the ancient religion which was instituted by GOD, was in many respects so great, that they thought GOD was pleased to institute the one in imitation of the other. This conclusion is, indeed, a very wrong one; and it is the grand mistake which runs through all the works of the very learned author last-mentioned. The ancient heathen religions do, indeed, in many particulars agree with the institutions and appointments of that religion, which was appointed to Abraham and his family, and which was afterwards revived by Moses. Not that these were derived from those of the heathen nations; but much more evidently the heathen religions were copied from them. For there is, I think, one observation which, as far as I have had opportunity to apply it, will fully answer every particular that Dr. Spencer has offered; which is this; he can produce no one ceremony or usage, practised both in the religion of Abraham or Moses, and in that of the heathen nations, but may be proved to have been used by Abraham or Moses, or by some of the true worshippers of GOD, earlier than by any of the heathen nations.

III. We are to inquire, how, and by what means the several nations in the world departed from the true religion? And since Diodorus Siculus has given a very probable account of the rise of false religion in Egypt; I will begin there first, and endeavour to illustrate what I shall say of other nations, from what we find of them.

The first men of Egypt, says he,[k] considering the world, and the nature of the universe, imagined two first eternal Gods; so that it was their speculative inquiries into the nature of things that led them into the errors about the Deity. And if we examine we shall see, that from the beginning to the present times, it has already been a vain philosophy, and an affectation of science, falsely so called, which has corrupted religion. The first Egyptians had, without doubt, a short account of the history of the world transmitted to them; an account of the creation, of the origin of mankind, of the deluge, and of the method of worship which GOD had appointed. As Abraham had received instruction in these points from his forefathers, so also the Egyptians had from theirs; but they neglected to take due care not to deviate from what had been thus transmitted to them. Some great genius or other, thinking to speculate, and to establish such speculations as he judged to be true, and therefore very proper to be admitted into their religious enquiries, happened to think wrong, and so began a scheme of errors, which others, age after age, refined upon and added to, until by steps and degrees, they built up the whole frame of their idolatries and superstitions.

The person who first speculated upon these subjects was Syphis; the first of that name (for his successor was likewise so called) a king of Memphis. This Sy-

[k] Diodor. Sic. Lib. 1.

phis began his reign about A. M. 2164, which is about eighty years after Abraham's coming into Egypt. He reigned sixty-three years, and died above forty years after Abraham; therefore he may well be supposed to have heard of all the transactions of Abraham's life, of his fame in the several countries where he had lived; and being a prince that had an ambition to raise himself reputation in the word,[1] and seeing Abraham's greatest glory to be founded upon his religion, and the revelations which GOD had been pleased to make him; he endeavoured to make himself conspicuous the same way; and for that end περιοπτης εις Θεους εγενετο και τον ιερεα συνεγραψε βιβλον.[m] A learned writer[n] would seem to infer from these words, that Syphis saw and conversed with GOD, as Abraham and the Patriarchs did. He tells us from Manetho in Josephus, that Amenophis pretended to have seen GOD, and answers the query of Josephus about it by hinting, that the expression of seeing GOD was a form of speaking common to the Egyptians, Hebrews, and other nations at this time. The learned author expresses himself so dubiously in his whole chapter, that one cannot well say, whether he intends to insinuate, that Syphis conversed with GOD as much as Abraham, or rather that neither of them conversed with GOD at all; but only each of them considering and contemplating what was most reasonable, to give

[1] Manetho ascribes to him the largest of the Pyramids, and so does Herodotus. See Euseb. Chron.

[m] Syncellus p. 56. [n] Manham Can. Chron. p. 51.

the greater authority to what they had a mind to impose, they pretended to have conversed with the Deity, and to have received their orders from him. Yet nothing of this sort follows from either what we read of Syphis, or from what Manetho reports of Amenophis, or from any of the quotations which Sir John Marsham has cited upon this subject. Rather on the other hand, the true conclusion from them is this, that GOD was pleased to make several revelations to Abraham and his descendants; and that, upon the fame of these spreading abroad in the world, many kings and great men desired greatly, and used arts to have it thought that they had the same favours shewn to them. Thus the sorcerers and magicians afterwards pretended to work miracles, in order to appear to have the same powers with those which GOD had given to some other persons.

The expression περιοπτης εις Θεους εγενετο, does not signify, that he saw the gods; but contemplator in deos fuit, i. e. he speculated about the deities, and from his speculations he wrote his book. Manetho pretends that he had this book from Syphis; but Sir J. Marsham very judiciously queries whether books were thus early; or whether they did not rather at this time mark or inscribe memoirs and hints of things on pieces of stone, or lumps of burnt earth. Manetho's book might be a transcript from some remains of Syphis. We are told, that the doctrines of Syphis were highly esteemed* among the Egyptians, and that they

* Euseb. Chron.

followed them very strictly; and that they followed them very strictly; and Sir John Marsham[p] very justly remarks, that this king's Θεοπία, or pretence of having seen God, was the foundation of all the Egyptian errors in religion.

The substance of what Syphis speculated upon these subjects, is given us by Diodorus Siculus[q] as the sentiments of the most ancient Egyptians about religion. He considered the world, and the nature of the universe, and examined the influence which the sun and moon had upon it, how they[r] nourished, and gave life and vigour to all things; and concluded from hence, that they were two powerful and mighty deities; and so instituted a worship for them. And perhaps this was all that Syphis innovated. Other errors were added afterwards. Syphis set himself to lay the foundation of a rational religion. He considered the influence which the luminaries of heaven had upon the world; and because it did not fall in with the scheme of speculation, he set aside what his ancestors had before taught, that in the beginning God created the heavens as well as the earth; the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the creatures of the lower world. Thus he reasoned wrong, and so instead of inventing a good one, he defaced and corrupted the true religion; and all this he was probably induced to

[p] Can. Chron. p. 54. [q] Lib. 1.

[r] Plato asserts that the ancient Grecians were charmed with the same sort of argument, ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς φοβεῖσθε καὶ σέβεσθε θεοὺς καὶ δαίμονας καὶ θεοὺς ἀπὸ τούτων τῶν φύσεων τε τῶν ἄστρων αὐτοὺς ἀποφαίνομαι.

by the fame of Abraham, out of the pride and desire to vie with him; for the Egyptians had a particular inclination to pretend to practise what they heard was introduced into Abraham's religion. Thus in a little time they followed him into the practice of circumcision; and when the report of his intending to sacrifice his son Isaac came to be known amongst them, they instituted human sacrifices, a barbarous custom, which continued amongst them for five or six hundred years.

Several writers, I am sensible, have intimated, that the Egyptians were so far from copying after Abraham, that they pretend that Abraham rather imitated them in all his religious institutions; they say, that Abraham was not the first who used circumcision, but that he learned it from the Egyptians. A noble writer[s] seems very fond of this opinion; yet he has said nothing but what Celsus[t] and Julian[u] said before him. Herodotus is cited upon this occasion affirming,[x] that circumcision was a very ancient rite among the Egyptians, instituted by them απ' Αρχης, from the beginning. Again, in another place he says,[y] that other nations did not use circumcision, except those who learned it from the Egyptians. Again he tells us,[z] that the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians, and the Phœnicians and Syrians who lived in Palestine,

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[s] Lord Shaftsbury Charact. vol. iii. p. 52.

[t] Apud Origen. p. 259.

[u] Apud Cyrill. p. 354. [x] Lib. ii. c. 91,

[y] Cap. 36. [z] Id lib. 2. c. 104.

(i. e. as Josephus rightly corrects him,[a] the Jews) used circumcision; and they themselves, says he, confess that they learned it from the Egyptians. Diodorus Siculus[b] thought the Colchians and the Jews were derived from the Egyptians, because they used circumcision. Again, he speaks of some other nations, who, he says,[c] were circumcised after the manner of the Egyptians. This is the whole of what is offered from the heathen writers. That circumcision was used anciently by several nations besides the Jews, we do not deny; nay, we may allow it to have been practised amongst the Egyptians απ αρχης, from the beginning; not meaning by that expression from the first rise or origin of that nation; but that it was so early amongst them, that the heathen writers had no account of its origin. When any thing appeared to them to be thus ancient, they pronounced it to be απ αρχης. That Herodotus himself meant no more than this by the expression, is evident from his own words. We find him querying, whether the Egyptians learned circumcision from the Ethiopians, or the Ethiopians from the Egyptians; and he can determine neither way, but concludes it to be a very ancient rite[d]. There had been no room for this query, if he had before meant, that it was an original rite of the Egyptians, when he said it was used by them from the beginning; for amongst the heathen writers, to say

[a] Contra Appion, p. 1346. [b] Lib. 1. p. 17.
[c] Lib. 3. p. 115. [d] Herodotus, lib. 2. c. 104.

a thing was απ αρχης, from the beginning, or that it was very anciently practised, are terms perfectly synonymous, and mean the same thing.

As to Herodotus and Diodorus declaring that the Jews learned circumcision from the Egyptians; we answer, the heathen writers had but very little knowledge of the Jewish history; and are seldom known to mention them without making palpable mistakes. The books of Josephus against Appion afford many instances of numerous mistakes, which the heathen writers were in about the history of the Jews; and the account which Justin the epitomizer of Trogus Pompeius gives of their origin,[e] shews evidently, that they were but very superficially acquainted with their affairs; and therefore Origen might justly blame Celsus[f] for adhering to the heathen accounts of circumcision, rather than to that of Moses; for Moses has given a full and clear account of the origin of the institution, but they only offer imperfect hints and conjectures; nay, even Herodotus, who says most of it, did not know[g] at last where it was first instituted, whether in Egypt or Ethiopia, and therefore not certainly

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[e] Justin. lib. 36. c. 2.

[f] Origen contra Celsum, p. 17. Sir John Marsham misrepresents Origen, intimating him as saying, that Moses said in express words, that Abraham was the first person who was circumcised; whereas Origen only deduces what follows by a very just inference from Moses' account of the institution of circumcision.

[g] See his query above-mentioned.

whether in either. But there is one thing further to be offered; we have the testimony of a heathen writer unquestionably confirming Moses' account of Abraham's circumcision. We read in Philo Biblius' extracts from Sanchoniathon [h] that it was recorded in the Phœnician antiquities, that Ilus, who was also called Chronus, circumcised himself, and compelled his companions to do the same. This Ilus or Chronus, says Sir John Marsham,[i] was Noah, or at least, according to[k] other writers, he is pretended to have been a person far more ancient than the time of Abraham; therefore they say from this passage it appears that circumcision was practised before the time of Abraham. But to this I answer: the same author who gives us this account of Ilus or Chronus, sufficiently informs us who he was, by telling us that he sacrificed his only son;[l] nay and further, we are informed from the Egyptian records[m] of this very Chronus, that the Phœnicians called him Israel. Chronus therefore, or Israel, who was reported to have sacrificed his only son, can be no other person than Abraham, whom the heathen writers represent to have sacrificed his only son Isaac. Jacob was the person who was really called Israel;[n] but the heathen accounts[o] of him were, that he had ten sons; so that

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[h] Euseb. præp. Evang. lib. 1. c. 10. p. 38.

[i] Can. Chron. p. 72. confer cum. p. 38.

[k] Oper. Spencer, p. 56.

[l] Euseb. loc. sup. citat. [m] Id. p. 40.

[n] Gen. xxxv. 10. [o] Justin. lib. 36. c. 2.

here is only a small mistake in applying the name Israel to the person who, they say, offered in sacrifice his only son, when in truth it was a name that belonged to his grandson. But these writers make greater mistakes than this, in all parts of their histories: and thus it appears from this passage, not, as some writers would infer from it, that circumcision was used in heathen nations, ages before Abraham; but that Abraham and his family were circumcised; and therefore, unless they can produce a testimony of some other persons being circumcised contemporary with, or prior to Abraham; we have their own confession that Abraham was circumcised earlier, than they can give an instance of any other person's being circumcised in the world. There are several writers who have treated upon this subject. Sir John Marsham and Dr. Spencer favour the opinion of Celsus and Julian; but as I think what I have already offered is sufficient to shew what a bad foundation it is grounded upon; so I shall add nothing further, but leave the reader, if he thinks fit to enquire more into the subject, to consult those [p] who have treated of it more at large.

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[p] There are several writers cited by Fabricius, Biblioth. Antiqu. p. 383, as opposers of the opinion of Spencer and Sir J. Marsham, viz. Ramiresius, cap. 4. Pentecontarchi Nat. Alexand. ætate 3. vet. Test. dis. 6. Leydecker. de rep. Heb. II. 4. Anton. Bynæus & Sebast. Schmidius in diss. & tractat de circumcisione. Salom. Deylingius 6 observ. sacrar. Rich. Montacutius orig. Eccles. & al.

As the Egyptians were led away from the true religion by speculations upon the nature of the universe; so the Chaldeans were perverted in the same manner. Their idolatry began earlier than that of other nations, as early as the days of Abraham, as I before observed; but it was of the same sort with that which the Egyptians first practised. We are told,[q] that Ninus τον Νεβρωδ, i. e. τον τε Νεβρωδ, the descendant, or rather the successor of Nimrod, whom they call the Assyrian (as being the founder of the Assyrian empire) taught the Assyrians to worship fire, not common fire, I conceive, but the sun, moon, and stars, which they probably imagined consisted of fire;[r] and in the process of their idolatry we are further informed, that they were the first who set up a pillar to the planet mars, and worshipped it as a GOD.[s] This therefore was the first idolatry of the Babylonians and Assyrians, and it is very probable that their early skill in astronomy led them into it. They had been students of astronomy for at least two hundred and thirty seven years at the birth of Abraham, and had made such observations all the time, as they had thought worth recording. What their observations were we cannot say, but it is most likely, that they observed the courses of the heavenly bodies as well as they were able; and according to their abilities philoso-

[q] Chronic. Alexand. 64.

[r] Empedocles took up this opinion from the ancients, and held πυρινα τα αστρα. Plut placet. Philos. lib. 2. c. 13.

[s] Chronic. Alexand. p. 89.

phized about their nature and influence upon the world, but their philosophy being false, a false philosophy naturally tended to introduce errors in religion.

The sun, moon, and the particular star called mars, were the first objects of the Chaldean, Babylonian, or Assyrian idolatry; which seems to be confirmed by the names which they gave to their ancient kings. We cannot indeed infer any thing of this sort from the catalogue of Ctesias, for the names he used are not Assyrian, but either Greek or Persian; for he used such names as the Persians, from whose records he wrote, had translated the old Assyrian names into; or he turned them into such as his own language offered to him. This liberty has been used by other writers; particularly by the Greeks, when they called the Egyptian Thyoth Hermes, and again by the Latins, who named him Mercurius; but the ancient Assyrian names were of another sort; for in order to raise their kings to the highest honours, and cause the people to think of them with the utmost veneration, they commonly called them by the names of two or three of these planetary deities put together; intimating hereby that they were persons under the extraordinary care and protection of their gods. Thus their kings and great men were called Peleser,[t] Belshazzar,[s] Beiteshazzar,[x] Nebuchadnezzar,[y] Nabonassar,[z] with

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[t] 1 Chron. v. 6.

[s] The name of Belesis. Dr. Prideaux Connect. p. 1.

[x] Dan. i. 7.

[y] Dan. iii. 1.

[z] Dan. v. ver. 1.

other names of the same sort; in order to explain which we need only observe, that Pil, Pal, or Pel, or Baal, or Bal, or Bel, which was written Βηλ in Greek, or Belus in Latin, and sometimes Phel, or Phul, or Pul, for they are all the same word, signifies lord or king, and was the name of the sun, whom they called the lord or king of the heaven. Baalah, Baalta, Belta or Beltes, which signify lady or queen, were the names of the moon, whom they called queen of heaven. Azer, or Azur, or Azar, was the name of mars. Gad signifies *a troop* or *host*. And Nabo, or Nebo, was the name for the moon. From observing this, it is easy to explain these names of the Assyrian kings. Peleser is Pel-Azar, or a man in the especial favour of the sun and of Mars. Belshazzar, i. e. Bel-Azar, or Bel's-Azar, a word of the same import with the former. Belteshazzar, i. e. Baalta, or Belta's-Azar, i. e. a person favoured by the moon and mars. Nabonassar is Nabo-Azar, i. e. a favourite of the moon and of Mars. Nebuchadnessar is Nabo, or Nebo-Gad-Azar, or one favoured by the moon, by the host of heaven, and by mars. And this custom spread into other nations, Beleazar was the name of a king of Tyre; and Diomedes, i, e. one in the favour of Jupiter, was one of the Grecians famous in Homer. The learned Dr. Hyde[a] differs a little from what I have here offered; who supposes that Bel was the name of the planet Jupiter; Belta, of Venus; Nabo, of Mercury;

[a] Rel. vet. Persarum c. 2. p. 67.

and Gad, of Jupiter; as if the first Assyrians worshipped the several planets of these names; but I think it may be questioned whether they distinguished thus early between the planets and the other stars. We are told, indeed, from the Alexandrian chronicon, that they set up a pillar unto Mars, as I before hinted; and very probably in time they distinguished the other planets and remarkable stars, and took them into the number of their gods, But we do not find that they did this in the very early days; for, according to Diodorus Siculus,[b] when Jupiter was first worshipped, he was considered not as a star, or planet, but as one of the elements. Eusebius, in his account of the ancient Egyptian worship of Jupiter, observes the same thing: [c] and the Phœnicians in their first use of this name, intended to signify the sun by it,[d] and not the star, or planet, which was afterwards called Jupiter. The astronomy of the ancients was not so exact as we are apt to imagine. Some accidental thought or other might induce the Assyrians to pay a greater honour to Mars, than to any other star, as the Egyptians did to the dog-star, for the influence[e] which they imagined that star to have upon the flowing of the river Nile. The Assyrians might very probably pay the like honour to Mars, not knowing him to be a planet, nor yet distinguishing him, except by some odd

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[b] Lib. 1. p. 11.

[c] Præp. Evang. lib. 3. c. 3.

[d] Id. lib. 1. c. 10.

[e] Marsham. Can. Chron. in προκαταστασιν, p. 9.

conceit or other which they had about him, from the rest of the host of heaven. Vossius,[f] and several other writers, take the words Bel, Belta, Nabo, and Gad, as I have taken them.

The Persians corrupted their religion in much the same manner. They did not at first, it is thought, fall into so gross idolatry as their neighbours; but they did not keep up very long to the true and pure worship of GOD. Sabiism was the first error of this nation. The word sabiism is of Hebrew origin, it comes from *sabah*, which signifies a host; so that a Sabian is a worshipper of a host or multitude, and the error of the Persians was, they worshipped the host of heaven. When, or by whom they were led into this error, is uncertain; but very probably it was effected in much the same manner, as the Egyptians were seduced. It is thought that the Persians[g] were never so corrupted, as entirely to lose the knowledge of the supreme GOD; and that they only worshipped the luminaries as his most glorious ministers, and consequently with a worship inferior to what they paid the Deity. They looked up to heaven, and considered the glory and brightness of those lights in it, their motion, heat and influence upon this lower world, and hereby raised in their minds very high notions of them. It was an ancient opinion, that these beings were all alive, and instinct with a glorious and

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[f] De origine et progress. Idololatriæ.

[g] Hydé Religio vet. Persarum, c. 1.

divine spirit;* and what could their philosophy teach them better, when they were far from having true notions about them? They saw them, as they thought, running their courses day and night over all the world, dispensing life, heat, health, and vigour, to all the parts and products of the earth. They kept themselves so far right as not to mistake them for the true GOD; but they imagined they were the most glorious of his ministers, that could be made the object of their sight; and not taking due care to keep strictly to what their forefathers had delivered to them from revelation about religion, they were led away by their own imaginations to appoint an idolatrous worship for beings, which had been created, and by nature were no gods.

Of this sort was the idolatry that first spread over Canaan, Arabia, and all the other neighbouring and adjacent nations; and I might say the same was first propagated into the more distant and remote countries. When the Israelites were preparing to take possession of the land of Canaan, the chief caution which was given against their falling into the idolatry of the

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* This notion the philosophers in time improved into that noble intimation given us in Virgil.

Principio Cœlum, ac Terras, camposque liquentes,
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit; totamque infusa per Artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

ÆNEID. vi. v. 725.

nations around them, shews what the religion and idolatry of those nations was. And the vindication which Job made for himself, intimates, that this was the idolatry of the Arabians in his day. He tells us,[h] that he had *never beheld the sun when it shined, nor the moon walking in brightness; that his heart had not been enticed, nor his mouth kissed his hand*, i. e. he never looked up to the sun and moon, and bowed down to pay a religious worship to them; or, (as Moses expresses it in his caution to the Israelites,[i]) he had not *lift up his eyes to heaven, nor when he saw the sun, and the moon, and the stars, even all the host of heaven, was driven to worship and to serve them.* This therefore was the first and most ancient idolatry.

When the several nations of the world had thus begun to deviate from the true worship of GOD, they did not stop here; but in a little time went further into all manner of superstition, in which the Egyptians quickly outstripped and went beyond all the other nations of the earth. The Egyptians began, as I have said, first with the worship of the sun and moon; in a little time they took the elements into the number of their gods, and worshipped the earth, water, fire, and air.[k] In time they looked over the catalogue of their ancestors, and appointed a worship for such as had been more eminently famous in their generations;[l] and having before this made pillars,

[h] Job xxxi. 26, 27.
[i] Deut. iv. 19.
[k] Diodor. Sic. lib. 1.
[l] Id. ibid.

statues, or images in memory of them; they paid their worship before these, and so introduced this sort of idolatry. In time they descended still lower; and they did not only worship men; but, considering what creatures had been most eminently serviceable to their most celebrated ancestors, or remarkably instrumental in being made use of by the first inventors of the several arts of living, towards the carrying forward the inventions that were first found out, for providing the conveniences of life, they consecrated these also; and in later ages, vegetables, and inanimate things had a religious regard paid to them. In this manner they fell from one thing to another, after they ceased to retain GOD in their knowledge, according to what GOD had pleased to reveal to them concerning himself and his worship; becoming every day more and more vain in their imaginations, they wandered farther and farther from the true religion, into all manner of fooleries and abominations.

At what particular times the Egyptians took the several steps which led them into their grosser idolatries we cannot say; but we find they had got into them very early. They worshipped images, even the images of beasts, before the Israelites left them, as appears from the Israelites setting up the calf at Horeb,[m] in imitation of the gods which they had seen in Egypt; and it is remarkable that they were by this time such proficients in the art of making these gods,

[m] Exod. xx.

as to cast them in metal; for such an image was that which the Israelites set up. This makes the observation of Pausanias appear very probable, who remarks,[n] that the Egyptians had wooden or carved images at the time when Danaus came into Greece; for, supposing that Danaus came into Greece about the time when[o] the Arundelian marble fixes it, i. e. a little before the time when Moses visited the children of Israel, namely, A. M. 2494, it seems very probable that they had this sort of images thus early, because it appears from what I before observed, that about twenty years after this time they were so improved as to make them of better materials, and in a more curious and artful manner; for Archbishop Usher places the exit of the children of Israel out of Egypt but nineteen years after this year, in which Danaus is supposed to have come into Greece. The observation of Pausanias was (ξοανα τα παντα, μαλιστα τα Αιγυπτια) that the Egyptian images were all wooden[p]

[n] In Corinthiacis. [o] Archbishop Usher supposes that the Parian Chronicon was composed A. M. 3741; and the marble tells us that Danaus' coming into Greece was 1247 years earlier; so that according to this account it was A. M. 2494, as I have placed it, which is about twenty years before the Israelites went out of Egypt.

[p] The translator of Pausanias renders the word ξοανα, *e ligno*, and so I find many authors agree to take it. Clemens Alexandrinus (in Cohortat. ad Gentes) thinks ξοανον to be a carved image of either wood or stone; and Hesychius says

or carved ones at that time, i. e. at the time when Danaus left Egypt, which being, as will appear hereafter, several years before he came to Greece, it is very probable that the use of images in Egypt was then in its first rise and infancy; and that the makers of them had got no further than to try their art upon such common and easy materials as young beginners would chuse to make their first attempts on.

The religion of Egypt was so entirely corrupted in Moses' time, that he could not suffer the Israelites to sacrifice unto the LORD their GOD in the land; for he told Pharaoh, that it would be in no wise proper for them to attempt it,[q] because they would be obliged to *sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes*, i. e. some of these living creatures which the Egyptians had consecrated, and that they should hereby so enrage them, that they would stone them for so doing. They do not indeed seem to have deviated thus far in the days of Joseph; who appears by all the actions of his life to have been a man of virtue, and his heart full of hope and expectation of

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ξοανα αγαλματα κυριως τα εξ ξυλων εξεσμενα η λιθων· the best explanation of the true meaning of the word seems to have been designed by Eusebius (Præp. Evang. l. 3. c. 8.) where he opposes it to a σκιλμιον εργον, meaning perhaps a molten image; but the passage is so corrupted, that there is no guessing at its true meaning. I have been in some doubts whether ξοανα in Pausanias, might not be a mistake for ζωικα, or ζωινα.

[q] Exod. viii. 26.

the promise which GOD had made to Abraham, to Isaac, and to Jacob;[r] therefore he took an oath of the children of Israel, that, when GOD should visit them, and bring them out of Egypt, they would carry his bones with them. Yet he married in Egypt, the priest of On's daughter;[s] and afterwards when the land was famished, he took the priests under his protection, that they might not suffer in a calamity which was so severe and heavy upon all other inhabitants of the land.[t] If the religion of Egypt had at this time been so entirely corrupted, as it was in the time of Moses; Joseph, who had the same faith as Moses had, would surely no more than Moses did, have sat down in the enjoyment of the pleasures and honours and riches of Egypt, but at least, when Pharaoh had put him in full power, so that *without him no man lifted up his hand or foot in all the land of Egypt*,[u] he would have used his credit with the king, and his authority both with the priests and people, to have in some measure corrected their religion, if there had been any of these grosser abominations at that time in it; and he might surely have as easily effected something in this matter, as brought about a total change in the property of all the subjects in the land. The truth of the matter was most probably this; the Egyptians and Israelites were indeed at this time in some respects of a different religion; and not being able to join in worship at the same altar, might not

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[r] Gen. l. 24, 25.
[s] Gen. xli. ver. 45.
[t] Gen. xlvii. 22.
[u] Chap. xli. 44.

(according to their notions of things) eat with one another; but their differences were not yet so wide, but that they could bear with Joseph, and Joseph with them. Therefore all their grosser corruptions, which led them to worship the images of beasts and of men, must be supposed to have arisen later than these days; for the time between Joseph's death, and the children of Israel's going out of Egypt, being about a century and a half, it may very well be supposed that they had been begun in the first part of this time; and that the Egyptians had only carved or wooden images, according to Pausanias, until after Danaus left them, and that they so improved as to make molten images before the Israelites' departure from them.

There is indeed one passage in Genesis, which seems to intimate there was that religious regard, which the Egyptians were afterwards charged with, paid to creatures even in the days of Joseph; for we are informed, that he desired his brethren to tell Pharaoh their profession, in order to have them placed in the land of Goshen, because every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians.[y] I must freely acknowledge, that I cannot satisfy myself about the meaning of this passage; I cannot see that shepherds were really at this time an abomination to the Egyptians; for Pharaoh himself had his shepherds, and when he ordered Joseph to place his brethren in the land of Goshen,[x] he was so far from disapproving

[y] Gen. xlvi. 34. [x] Gen. xlvii. 6.

of their employment, that he ordered him, if he knew any men of activity amongst them, to make them rulers over his cattle. Nay, the Egyptians were at this time shepherds themselves, as well as the Israelites; for when their money failed, they brought [x] their cattle of all sorts to Joseph, to exchange them for corn, and among the rest, their flocks which were of the same kind with those of the Israelites, as will appear by consulting the Hebrew text in the places referred to. Either therefore we must take the expression, that every shepherd was an abomination to the Egyptians, to mean no more than that they thought meanly of the employment, that it was a lazy, idle, and inactive profession; as Pharaoh seemed to question, whether there were any men of activity among them, when he heard what their trade was. Or, if we take the words to signify a religious aversion to them, which does indeed seem to be the true meaning of the expression, from the use made of it in other places of Scripture; then I do not see how it is reconcileable with Pharaoh's inclination to employ them himself, or with the Egyptians being many of them at this time of the same profession themselves, which the heathen writers agree with Moses [a] in supposing them to be.

The learned have observed, that there are several interpolations in the books of the Scriptures, which were not the words of the sacred writers. Some persons affecting to shew their learning, when they read

[x] Gen. xlvii. 17. [a] Diodorus Sic. lib. 1.

over the ancient MSS. would sometimes put a short remark in the margin, which they thought might give a reason for, or clear the meaning of some expression in the text against which they placed it, or to which they joined it. Hence it happened, now and then, that the transcribers from manuscripts, so remarked upon, did, through mistake, take a marginal note or remark into the text, supposing it to be a part of it. Whether Moses might not end his period in this place with the words, *that ye may dwell in the land of Goshen*: and whether what follows, *for every shepherd is an abomination to the Egyptians*, may not have been added to the text this way, is entirely submitted to the judgment of the learned.

As the Egyptians thus sunk into the grossest idolatries very early, so they propagated their errors into all the neighbouring nations around them. The Philistines quickly came to have some of the gods which the Egyptians served; they had set up Dagon before Eli's time,[a] and the image of Dagon was in part a human representation, for it had a head, face, and palms of hands; and the nations through which the Israelites passed, after their coming out of Egypt, had among them at that time idols, not only of wood and stone (which were the ξοανα before mentioned, and the most ancient) but likewise of silver and gold.[b] Egypt was the fruitful mother of all these abominations, and the nearer nations were situated to, or the sooner they had

[a] 1 Sam. v. [b] Deut. xxix. 16. 17.

acquaintance with Egypt, the earlier idolatries of this sort were practised amongst them. For,

If we go into Asia, into the parts a little distant from Egypt, we find, that during all the first ages, the luminaries of heaven, or the elements were the only objects of their idolatrous worship. Baal, or Bel, or Baal-samen i. e. according to their own interpretation,[c] the king, or lord of heaven, as the Hebrew words Baal-shemaim would import, or Baal-Zebub, i. e. the lord of flies, (by which names they meant the sun,[d]) were the ancient deities of the Phœnicians. The Ammonites worshipped the same god under the name of Milcom, or Moloch,[e] i. e. Melech, or the king. The Arabians likewise worshipped the sun, under the name of Baal-Peor, or Baal-Phegor.[f] And the men of Sepharvaim, who were brought out of Assyria into Samaria, in the reign of Ahaz, king of Judah, and Hoshea, king of Samaria,[g] had Anamelech, i. e. the king of the clouds; and Adram-melech, or rather Adar-ha-melech, i. e. Adar, or Mars the king, for their gods; and very probably Nergal and Ashima, Nibhaz and Tartak, the gods of the other nations which were brought with them, were deities of the

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[c] Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 10.

[d] Procop. Gazæus in 1 Kings xvi. Servius in 1 Æn. Damascius in vita Isidori apud Photium. Euseb. præp. Evang. l. 1. c. 7.

[e] 1 Kings xi. 5, 7. Levit. xviii. 21. ibid. xx. 2, 3, 4, 5.

[f] Theophrast. Hist. Plant. l. 20, c. 4. Numb. xx v Psalm. cvi. Hosea ix.

[g] 2 Kings xvii. 31 & 24.

same sort. These, and such as these, were the gods worshipped in the several countries of Asia, in the first days of their idolatry; and some nations did not descend lower for many ages. The Persians in their early times had no temples, statues, altars, or images;[h] but they sacrificed on the tops of mountains, to the sun, moon, earth, fire, and water. The first image set up amongst them, was a statue to Venus, which was not erected till almost the end of the Persian empire, by a king whom Clemens Alexandrinus calls Artaxerxes; and very probably he meant Artaxerxes Ochus,[i] the predecessor of Darius, in whose reign Alexander the Great overthrew the Persian empire. In many places of the Old Testament the idols of Babylon are mentioned; Nebuchadnezzar set up an image of gold, in the plain of Dura;[k] but though this was not the first image set up amongst them (for Isaiah mentions their hiring goldsmiths to make them[l] gods) yet I believe we may place their beginning this idolatry about, or only a little before this time. The removal of the Cuthites, of the men of Ava, Hamath, and Sepharvaim,[m] from the countries of Babylon into Samaria, was about a century before the reign of Nebuchadnezzar; and they seem not to have learned in their own countries to become worshippers of these sort of gods; for

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[h] Herodot. lib. 1. Strabo. lib. 15. Xenophon in Cyropæd. in multis loc. Brissonius de regno Persarum.

[i] Cohortat. ad Gentes.

[k] Dan. iii.

[l] Isaiah xlvi. 6.

[m] 2 Kings xvii. 24.

when they set up the idolatries of their nations in Samaria, they did not set up images, but made Succoth-be-noth,[n] i. e. shrines, or model-temples, little structures, such as St. Stephen speaks of,[o] when he mentions the tabernacles of Moloch, which they took up and carried about in procession; or they had sidereal representations of the luminaries of heaven, such as St. Stephen calls the star of the god Remphan.

The first step which the Babylonians, and very probably all other nations, took towards image-worship, was the erecting pillars in honour of their gods. All their other idols were novelties, in comparison of these. We read that Jacob set up a pillar, when he vowed a vow unto the true God;[p] so that the erecting these pillars was a very ancient practice, even as ancient as A. M. 2246, and practised we see by the professors of the true religion; and when men fell into idolatry, they kept on this practice, and erected such pillars to their false gods. The Alexandrian Chronicon, in the place which I have before cited, remarks, that the Babylonians set up a pillar to the planet Mars; and Clemens Alexandrinus[q] observes, that before the art of carving was invented, the ancients erected pillars, and paid their worship to them, as to statues of their gods. Herodian[r] mentions a pillar, or large stone (for it is to

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[n] Ver. 30. [o] Acts vii. 43.

[p] Gen. xxviii. 18 and xxxv. 14.

[q] Stromat. lib. 1. p. 151. [r] Lib. 5. p. 563.

be observed, that these pillars were large stones set up without art or workmanship[s]) erected in honour of the sun, by the title of Eligabalus, or El-Gebal, i. e. the god of Gebal, a city of Phœnicia. Pausanias mentions several of these uncarved pillars in Bœotia, in Greece;[t] and he says they were the ancient statues erected to their gods.[u] Some time after the first use of these, they erected wooden ones, and these at first had but little workmanship bestowed upon them; for we read in Clemens Alexandrinus,[x] that a block, or trunk of a tree, was an ancient statue of Juno, at Samos; and Plutarch informs us, that two beams, or pieces of timber, joined together with two shorter cross-beams, was the ancient representation of Castor and Pollux.[y] Hence it came to pass, that the astrologers pitched upon the figure of this representation to be the character for the constellation called Gemini, which they describe thus Π

Epiphanius,[z] and other writers, have imagined that image worship was very early in Assyria and Chaldea, even as early as the days of Abraham. They represent, that Serug, Nahor, and Terah, the father of Abraham, were statuaries and carvers, and that they made idols, and set up image worship in these coun-

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[s] Pausan. in Bœoticis, and in this respect they were like Jacob's pillars.

[t] In Bœoticis. [u] Idem in Achaicis.

[x] Cohort. ad Gentes. [y] Philadelph. p. 178. Initio.

[z] Adversus Hæres. l. 1. sec. 6. Suidas in Σεμεχ, & al.

tries; but there is no proof of this opinion, except Jewish traditions, which are of no great account. Pillars of stone were perhaps in use in these times; but they were only common stones heaped upon one another, as Jacob afterwards heaped them, and Joshua upon another occasion [a] many generations afterwards; or they were large, but αργοι λιθοι, as Pausanius calls them, they had no workmanship about them, which could intimate that the hand of an artificer had been concerned in them. Laban, indeed, a descendant of this family, had his Teraphim, in our translation, gods, which Rachel stole from him; [b] but we have no reason to suppose that these were image-gods; it is more probable that they were little pillars, or stones, which had the names of their ancestors inscribed upon them. As they erected larger pillars to their deities, so they made smaller and portable ones in memory of their ancestors, which were esteemed by them much as family-pictures are now by us; and that made Rachel so fond of taking them when she went away from her father's house, and Laban so angry at the thoughts of their being taken from him. In after-ages, when the pillars erected to the gods were turned into statues, these family pillars were converted into little images; and these seem to be the beginning of the Penates, or family-gods, of which we have frequent mention in after-times.

Idolatry made its progress in Greece in much the same manner; for, according to Plato's express

[a] Josh. iv. 5. [b] Gen. xxxi.

words,[c] the first Grecians esteemed those to be the only gods, which many of the foreign nations thought so, namely, the sun, moon, and stars. They worshipped, therefore, at first the luminaries of heaven; but in time came to worship the elements; for the same author mentions these, also, as their ancient deities; and they erected pillars in honour of them, as the Asians did to their gods, which appears from the authorities already cited, and many other places which might be quoted from Pausanias, and other writers. At what time the Greeks came to worship those gods of whom Homer sings, is uncertain; but their worship was evidently established before his time. All writers [d] in general agree, that the Greeks had the names and the worship of these gods from Egypt; and Herodotus was of opinion that the Pelasgi first encouraged the reception of them.[e] He does not, indeed, tell us at what time; but we cannot suppose it happened before the plantation of that people, who left Greece under the conduct and command of Oenotrus,[f] and migrated into Italy; for if it had, they would have carried these gods, and this sort of worship with them.

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[c] In Cratylo. His words are Φαινονται μεν οι πρωτοι των Ανθρωπων περι την Ελλαδα ταυτας μονους Θεους νομισθαι ωσπερ νυν τοις πολλοις των Βαρβαρων, ηλιον και σεληνην και γην και αστρα και ουρανον.

[d] Euseb. Præp. Evang. Diodor. Sic. Clem. Alexand. & mult. al.

[e] In Euterpe.

[f] Pausanias in Arcadicis.

But if we look into Italy, we not only find, in general, the writers of their antiquities[g] remark, that their ancient deities were of a different sort from those of Greece; but, according to Plutarch,[h] Numa, the second king of Rome, made express orders against the use of images in the worship of the Deity. Nay, he says farther, that for the first one hundred and seventy years after building the city, the Romans used no images, but thought the Deity invisible, and reputed it unlawful to make representations of him from things of an inferior nature. According to this account, Rome being built about A. M. 3256,[i] the inhabitants of Italy were not greatly corrupted in their religion even so late as A. M. 3426, when Nebuchadnezzar was king of Babylon, and about one hundred and sixty-nine years after the time where I am to end this work. It is remarkable that Plutarch does not represent Numa as correcting or refining the ancient idolatry of Italy; but expressly says, that this people never had these grosser deities, either before, or for the first one hundred and seventy years of their city. It is, therefore, more than probable that Greece was not thus corrupted, when the Pelasgi removed from thence into Italy; and further, that the Trojans were not such idolaters at the destruction of their city; because, according to this account, Æneas neither

[g] Dionys. Halicar. lib. 7.

[h] In Numa. & Clem. Alexand. Stromat. lib. 1.

[i] Archbishop Usher's Annals.

brought with him images into Italy, nor such gods as were worshipped by the adoration of images. Therefore Pausanias,[k] who thought that Æneas carried the Palladium into Italy, was as much mistaken as the men of Argos, who affirmed that they themselves had it in their city.[l] The times of Numa are about two hundred years after Homer, and very probably the idolatry so much celebrated in his writings might by this time begin to appear in Italy; and thereby occasion Numa to make laws and constitutions against it.

Several other particulars might be added to this subject; but I am unwilling to extend this digression to a greater length, and shall only offer a remark or two, and put an end to this book.

It is observable, that the first corruptions of religion were begun by kings and rulers of nations. Ninus taught the Assyrians to worship fire; and Syphis, king of Egypt, wrote a sacred book, which laid the foundation of all their errors. In like manner in after-ages, Nebuchadnezzar set up the golden image in the plains of Dura; and when image-worship was brought into Persia, it was introduced, as the learned Dr. Hyde observes, by some kings, who built temples, set up statues, appointed priests, and settled their revenues, for carrying on the worship according to the rites and institutions which he thought fit to prescribe to them. In this manner, without doubt, Sabiism was planted,

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[k] In Corinthiacis.

[l] Ibid.

both in Persia, and all other nations. Kings and heads of families were the priests among the true worshippers of the GOD of heaven; Melchisedec was priest as well as king of Salem; and Abraham was the priest of his own household. We have reason likewise to believe that other kings were careful to preserve to themselves this honour, and presided in religion, as well as ruled and governed their people; and in reality, as the circumstances of the world then were, if they had not done the one, they could not have effected the other. Kings and rulers therefore being at this time the supreme directors in religion; their inventions and institutions began the first errors and innovations which were introduced into it. This point should indeed be a little more carefully examined; because some writers have a favourite scheme, on which they think they can build great things, and which runs very contrary to what I have offered. These gentlemen advance propositions to this purport: that GOD had given to all men innate principles sufficient to lead them to know and worship him; but that the great misfortune of the heathen world was too strict a reliance of the laity upon the clergy, who, for the advancement of their own lucre, invented temples, altars, sacrifices, and all manner of superstition. Thus they run on at random. The whole of their opinion may be expressed in these two positions: 1. That the powers and faculties which GOD at first gave to men, led them naturally to know and to worship him, according to the dictates of right reason, i. e. in the way of natural religion. 2. That the priests for their own ends set up revealed religion. This is in truth the foundation of our modern deism; the professors of it

believing in their hearts, that there never was a real revelation at all; but that the first religion in the world was merely natural, men worshipping GOD only according to what reason suggested; but that in time artful men, for political ends, pretended to revelations, and led the world away into superstition, and the first pretenders to these revelations were, they say, their priests or clergy. But all this is fiction and chimæra; we can find nothing to countenance these extravagant fancies in any history of any part of the world. For, with regard to the first point, that the priests were the first corrupters of religion; let them only tell us when, and where. All the history we have of the several kingdoms of the world agree in this, that kings and rulers were, in all the heathen nations, the first institutors and directors of the rites and ceremonies of religion; as well as of the laws by which they governed their people. We have not only plain hints to this purpose, in the remains of those early kingdoms, of which perhaps it may be said, that the accounts are so short and imperfect, that we may be deceived if we lay too great a stress upon them; but we find, that all antiquity was so universally agreed in this point, that if we look into the foundations of those later kingdoms, of which we have fuller and clearer accounts transmitted to us, we find fuller and clearer accounts of this matter. Romulus and Numa, and other succeeding kings, were the authors and institutors of every part of the Roman religion. We are told [m] that Numa wrote a book upon the subject; and we find among the ap-

[m] Dionys. Halicarnass.

pointments of Romulus,[n] that when he had settled the several magistrates and officers, which he thought necessary for the well-governing of his people, he reserved to himself as king to be the supreme director of the Sacra and sacrifices, and to perform himself the public offices of religion; for so I understand the words (παντα δι εκεινου πραττεσθαι τα προς τους Θεους οσια). I think, I am directed so to understand them, by what happened afterwards; for when Brutus and his associates expelled the kings, banishing Tarquinius, and erecting a common-wealth instead of the kingly government, it is remarkable that they found themselves obliged to appoint a new officer, whom they called the *Rex Sacrificulus*, that there might be one to offer those sacrifices, which used to be offered by the king for the people.[o] Quia publica sacra quædam, says[p] Livy, per ipsos reges factitata erant, ne ubi ubi regum desiderium esset, regem sacrificulum creant: i. e. "Because some of the public sacrifices were performed by the king himself, that there might not be any want of a king, they created a royal sacrificer."

In Greece we find the same institutions, and according to Xenophon,[q] the kings of Lacedæmon having officers under them for the several employments of the state, reserved to themselves to be the priests of their people in divine affairs, and their governors and supreme directors in civil. This was the most ancient practice in all nations; and priests were so far

[n] Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 2. p. 87.
[o] Dionys. Halicarn. lib. 4. p. 269.
[p] Liv. lib. 2. c. 2. [q] In Repub. Lacedæm. p. 514.

from being the first inventors of superstition or corruptors of religion; that in the sense in which these writers use the word, there were no priests at all until religion was considerably depraved and vitiated. Every man was at first the priest in his own family, and every king in his own kingdom; and though we may suppose that in time, when kingdoms came to grow large, the people to be numerous, and the affairs to be transacted, full of variety; that then kings appointed, for the better governing of their people, ministers under them, both in sacred and civil matters; yet this was not done at first; and when it was done, the ministers so appointed were only executors of the injunctions and directions, orders and institutions, which the kings, who appointed them, thought fit to give. In time, the ceremonies and institutions of religion grew to be so numerous, that kings could not always be at leisure to attend upon the performance, or take care of all the particulars; nor could a new king be sufficiently instructed at his coming to a crown, in all the various rites and usages which had, some at one time, and some at another, been established by his ancestors. This occasioned the appointing a set of men, whose whole business might be to take care of these matters, which then princes began to leave to them; and from this time indeed the power and authority of the priests grew daily; though even after this time we find some of the greatest kings directing, and acting in these things themselves. Cyrus commonly offered the public sacrifices himself; [r] and

[r] Xenophont. Cyropæd. lib. 3. p. 63. & in mult. al. loc

Cambyses his father, when he sent him with an army to assist Cyaxares his uncle, observed to him, what care he had taken to have him fully instructed in augury, that he might be able to judge for himself, and not depend upon his augurs for their directions.[s] Thus I have endeavoured to set this matter in the light in which the best writers and historians agree to place it; and these were, I believe, the sentiments which Josephus had about it, who enquiring into what might be the first occasion of the many heathen superstitions and errors in religion, professes to think, that they began at first from the legislators, who not rightly knowing the true nature of GOD, or not rightly explaining and keeping up to that knowledge which they might have had of it, were hereby led to appoint constitutions in religion not suitable to it, and so opened a door for those that came after to introduce all sorts of deities and superstition.[t] Agreeable to this it is the determination of the author of the book of wisdom, that the heathen idolatries were set up by the commandments of kings.[u] It will perhaps be here said, that kings then were the first introducers of revelation and superstition, that they did it to aggrandize themselves, to attract the greater regard and veneration of their people. To this I answer: we find accounts of revelation earlier than we find any mention of kings. Noah had several directions from the Deity, and so had Adam; therefore we must set aside what history as-

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[s] Id. ibid. lib. 1. p. 21.

[t] Contra Appion. p. 1386.

[u] Chap. xiv. ver. 16.

sures us to have been fact, in order to embrace what seems to these sort of writers most probable, instead of it. But I have already considered [x] that the worship of GOD, which all men universally in all nations performed in the most early times, was of such a nature, that we must, with every appearance of probability, imagine, that it was at first introduced by divine appointments. For we cannot learn from history, nor if we reflect, can we conceive, that natural reason should ever have led men into such sentiments, as should have induced them to think of worshiping GOD in that manner. But there are two queries which I would put to these writers: 1. If there was no revelation made to the men of the first ages, in matters of religion how; came all nations of the world to be so fully persuaded that there was, as to make it necessary for legislators, who made appointments in religion, to pretend to some revelation or other, in order to support and establish them? 2. How came men to think of acknowledging and worshipping GOD, so early as they did really worship and acknowledge him? If we look into the religious appointments of the several kings and rulers, of whom we have any accounts, we find their institutions always received as directions from heaven, by their hands transmitted to their people. Romulus and Numa were both believed to have been directed by a revelation, what Sacra they were to establish: and Lycurgus was supposed to be instructed by the oracle at Delphos; [y] and thus Syphis, the king of Egypt, was

[x] Book ii.

[y] Plutarch. Lycurg.

esteemed to be Θεοπλης, one who had converse with the gods. The general maxim of Plato,[z] that all laws and constitutions about divine worship were to be had only from the gods, was every where received and believed in the world; and when kings made appointments in these matters, their subjects received what they ordered, as the dictates of inspiration, believing that[a] *a divine sentence was in the lips of* their *kings and that* their *months transgressed not* in the appointments which they had made. To this they readily acceded, not being artfully betrayed by kings into a belief of revelation; but believing *them* to be inspired, from the universal knowledge which the world was then full of, that GOD had revealed to their several ancestors and heads of families, in what way and manner they should worship him. If reason only had been the first guide in matters of religion, rulers would neither have thought of, nor have wanted the pretence of revelation, to give credit to their institutions. Whereas on the other hand, revelation being generally esteemed in all nations as the only true foundation of religion; kings and rulers, when they thought fit to add inventions of their own to the religion of their ancestors, were obliged to make use of that disposition, to which they knew their people inclined to receive what came recommended to them under the name of a revelation. But to proceed to the second query: if there was no revelation made to the men of the first ages, how came the knowledge and worship of GOD so early into the world? Perhaps some will answer, according to Lord Herbert,[b] from in-

[z] De Legib. l. 6. [a] Prov. xvi. 10.

[b] Lib. de Religione Gentilium.

nate principles. If they do, I must refer them to what our ingenious countryman Mr. Locke has offered upon that subject. The only way that reason can teach men to know GOD, must be from considering his works; and if so, his works must be first known and considered, before they can teach men to know the Author of them. It seems to be but a wild fancy, that man was at first raised up in this world, and left entirely to himself, to find out by his own natural powers and faculties what was to be his duty and his business in it. If we could imagine the first men brought into the world in this manner; we must, with Diodorus Siculus, conceive them for many ages to be but very poor and sorry creatures. *The invisible things of GOD* are indeed to be *understood by the things that are made*; but men in this state would for many generations be considering the things of the world in lower views, in order to provide themselves the conveniences of life from them, before they would reflect upon them in such a manner as should awaken up in their mind any thoughts of a GOD. And when they should come to consider things in such a light as to discover by them that there was a GOD; yet how long must it be before they can be supposed to have arrived at such a thorough knowledge of the things of the world, as to have just and true notions of him? We see in fact, that when men first began to speculate and reason about the things of the world, they reasoned and speculated very wrong. In Egypt, in Chaldea, in Persia, and in all other countries, false and ill-grounded notions of the things which GOD had made, induced them to worship the creatures instead of the Creator; and that at times when other per-

sons, who had less philosophy, were professors of a truer theology. The descendants of Abraham were true worshippers of the GOD of heaven, when other nations, whose great and wise men pretended to consider and reason about the works of the creation, did in no wise rightly apprehend or *acknowledge the workmaster; but deemed either fire, or wind, or the swift air, or the circle of the stars, or the violent water, or the lights of heaven, to be the gods which govern the world;* [a] *being delighted with their beauty, or astonished at their power, they took them for gods.* In a word, if we look over all the accounts we have of the several nations of the earth; and consider every thing that has been advanced by any or all the philosophers; we can meet with nothing to induce us to think, that the first religion of the world was introduced by the use and direction of mere natural reason. On the other hand, all history, both sacred and profane, offers us various arguments to prove, that GOD revealed to men in the first ages how he would be worshipped; but that, when men, instead of adhering to what had been revealed, came to *lean to their own understandings*, and to set up what they thought to be right, in the room of what GOD himself had directed, they lost and bewildered themselves in endless errors. This, I am sensible, is a subject which should be examined to the bottom; and I am persuaded, if it were, the result of the enquiry would be this, that he who thinks to prove, that the *world ever* did in fact *by wisdom know GOD*; [b]

[a] Wisdom xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4. [b] 1 Corin. i. 21.

that any nation upon earth, or any set of men ever did, from the principles of reason only, without any assistance from revelation, find out the true nature and the true worship of the Deity; must find out some history of the world entirely different from all the accounts which the present sacred or profane writers give us; or his opinion must appear to be a mere guess and conjecture of what is barely possible, but what all history assures us never was really done done in the world.

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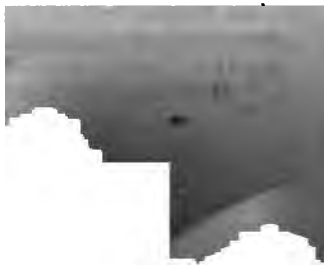

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